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THE MODERN LANGUAGE REVIEW

VOLUME II.

1906—7

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS WAREHOUSE,
C. F. CLAY, MANAGER.
London: FETTER LANE, E.C.
Glasgow: 50, WELLINGTON STREET.

Leipzig: F. A. BROCKHAUS.
New York: G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS.
Bombay and Calcutta: MACMILLAN AND CO., LTD.

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THE MODERN LANGUAGE REVIEW

A QUARTERLY JOURNAL DEVOTED TO THE STUDY OF MEDIEVAL AND MODERN LITERATURE AND PHILOLOGY

EDITED BY

JOHN G. ROBERTSON

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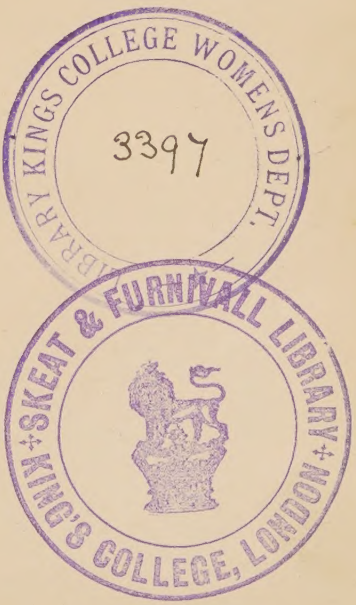
1907



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COURT PERFORMANCES BEFORE QUEEN ELIZABETH.

ALL students of stage history are aware of the valuable information bearing upon the composition and careers of the various Elizabethan companies of actors, which is afforded by the records in official documents of the performances given by them at Court. These records are of two kinds. There are the Accounts of the Revels Office, which was charged with the oversight of all dramatic festivities within the royal household, and incurred expenditure in connection with the choice, rehearsal, staging, dresses, and properties of the plays performed by the accredited 'Servants' of the Queen herself or of the great nobles, at Christmas, Candlemas, or Shrovetide, in the palaces of Whitehall, Windsor, Richmond, Hampton Court, Greenwich, or Nonsuch. A series, not quite complete, of full Revels Accounts from 1571 to 1588 was printed by Peter Cunningham in his *Extracts from the Accounts of the Revels at Court* (1842). These generally contain indications of the names of the companies engaged and the times at which they performed; and to them are in some cases attached full schedules of such information, together with the names of the plays. The other records bearing on the subject are those of the 'rewards' paid out of royal funds to the representatives of the companies in recompense of their services. These were not a concern of the Revels Office. The practice was for a warrant directing the payment to be signed by no less a body than the Privy Council, and it is a curious reminder of the personal relation in which the Council stood to the Sovereign, to find notices of the issue of such warrants sandwiched in the minutes of its proceedings between accounts of important investigations into heresy and treason. The warrant was taken by the players to the Treasurer of the Chamber to whom it was addressed, honoured by him, and debited against funds assigned to him for this and other expenses. Of these payments, therefore, we have two independent records, one in the Council Register, and another in the Accounts of the Treasurer of the Chamber. The entries

in the Register relating to payments for plays during the reign of Elizabeth were extracted by George Chalmers and published, first in his *Apology for the Believers in the Shakespeare Papers* (1797) and afterwards in the third volume of the Boswell-Malone *Variorum Shakespeare* (1821). They are now available up to June, 1601, in Mr J. R. Dasent's *Acts of the Privy Council of England* (1890–1906). Unfortunately there are considerable gaps in the Register, notably from May, 1559, to May, 1562, from June, 1582, to February, 1586, from August, 1593, to October, 1595, and from January, 1602, to the end of the reign; and the records of payments for the plays of several winters are altogether missing. The Accounts of the Treasurer of the Chamber were drawn upon by Cunningham for the book already named, in the Introduction of which he inserted a number of extracts, mainly dealing with performances of plays, from what he describes as 'the original Office Books of the Treasurers of the Chamber during a part of the reign of Queen Elizabeth.' He expressed his regret 'that the set is very incomplete.' The Treasurer of the Chamber's entries have the advantage of being at once more accurate and more detailed than those in the Council Register, which often refer summarily to a payment for a group of plays without specifying, as the Treasurer of the Chamber is usually careful to do, the precise dates upon which the performances took place. Where the two sets of records refer to the same payments, they of course afford a valuable check upon each other, and also upon the Revels Accounts.

It is from these three sources that historians of the stage have obtained their knowledge of the plays given before Elizabeth, and that Mr Fleay in particular has drawn material for the elaborate, but not always correct, tables of Court performances published in his *Chronicle History of the London Stage* (1890). A few additions have been made to the information taken by Cunningham from the Treasurer of the Chamber's Accounts, chiefly by Mr Halliwell-Phillipps and Mrs C. C. Stopes; but it seems to have been generally assumed that his search of those documents was an exhaustive one. This is by no means the case. The Accounts which he examined and found 'very incomplete' were apparently what are known in the Record Office as 'Original Accounts,' drawn up by the accounting officer for declaration in the Exchequer after submission to the Auditors of the Imprest. Others of these are in *Harl. MSS.*, 1641 and 1642, and *Rawlinson MSS.*, A. 239 and 240; while *Harl. MS.*, 1644, appears to be a book kept in the office of the Treasurer of the Chamber for the entry of payments as they were

made. But there is another collection of Accounts of the Treasurer of the Chamber in the Record Office, and these, unlike the Original Accounts, form an unbroken series from 1558 onwards. They are known as Declared Accounts and are abstracts of the Original Accounts, made out by the Auditors and filed in duplicate in their own office and in that of the Pipe. Apparently Cunningham did not think it worth while to examine these. He had examined the Declared Accounts of the Masters of the Revels and found them unilluminating. Probably he assumed that the Declared Accounts of the Treasurer of the Chamber were equally arid abridgments. But as a matter of fact they are, so far as the payments for plays are concerned, exactly as full as the Original Accounts themselves; and it is therefore possible to extract from them, for the first time, a substantially complete calendar of all the Court performances during the period which they cover. The entries relating to these ought to be printed in full by the newly founded Malone Society or some other enterprising body. In the meantime I will furnish a brief summary of such new information as may be gleaned from them, including all notices of performances not hitherto known to historians of the stage, and any details which may serve to correct or supplement earlier records[1]. In the case of each performance I indicate, so far as shown by the entry, the date, the company, and the payees. These are, for companies of boys their schoolmasters, and for companies of men members of the company acting as agents for their fellows.

Christmas, 1561–2. Lord Robert Dudley's.
„ „ Paul's (Sebastian Westcote).

This payment was on a warrant of Jan. 6, 1562, and is distinct from the payment on a warrant of March 9, 1562, extracted in Cunningham XXVII.

Christmas, 1565–6. Paul's (Westcote). Three plays, two 'at the Courte,' the other 'before Her Ma^tie at the Ladye Cecilias Lodging at the Savoye.'

This was Cecilia, Margravine of Baden, sister of Eric, King of Sweden, who came to England in the autumn of 1565.

Christmas, 1567–8. Westminster (John Taylor).
„ „ Lord Rich's. Two plays.
„ „ Paul's (Westcote). Two plays.
Shrovetide (Feb. 29–March 2), 1568. Windsor (Richard Farrant).
„ „ „ Chapel (William Hunnis), 'a Tragedie.'

[1] I have to thank my friend Mr Bower Marsh for going carefully through the Accounts and making extracts for me.

Collier, I. 187, prints from *Harl. MS.*, 146, a list of eight plays produced by the Revels Office between July 14, 1567, and March 3, 1568. One of these, *The King of Scots*, is identified by Mrs Stopes in *Athenaeum* (1900), I. 410, with the Chapel play, but only on conjecture. Incidentally she misdates Shrovetide and gives a wrong reference to the Pipe Roll, from which she has extracted other entries with regard to Hunnis.

Dec. 28, 1570. Paul's (Westcote).
Shrovetide (Feb. 25–7), 1571. Chapel (Hunnis).
„ „ Windsor (Farrant).
„ „ Paul's (Westcote).
Dec. 27, 1571. Lawrence Dutton and his fellows.

It is clear from Dasent, VIII. 61, and the Revels Account in Cunningham, 13, that these were Sir Robert Lane's men. I give the list of plays for the Christmas of 1571–2 from the Pipe Roll, although the facts are not, except in some minor details, new, because it confirms the accuracy of the Revels Account against the Privy Council Acts, which give different dates for some of the performances, dating that of Lane's men e.g. Dec. 26. I feel little doubt that the authority of the Pipe Roll is better than that of the Acts. It is an abstract of accounts made up from the actual warrants in the hands of the Treasurer of the Chamber, while the Acts were probably compiled at leisure by the Clerk of the Council from notes of proceedings taken by himself or some Privy Councillor. The Revels Account gives for this year the names of the plays acted by the respective companies.

Dec. 28, 1571. Paul's (Westcote).

The Acts misdate Jan. 1, 1572.

Jan. 1, 1572. Windsor (Farrant).

The Acts misdate Dec. 27, 1571.

Jan. 12, 1572. Chapel (Hunnis).

The Acts have 'John' for 'William' Hunnis.

Feb. 17, 1572 (Shrove Sunday). Sir Robert Lane's (John Greaves and Thomas Goughe).

The Acts give Lawrence Dutton again as payee.

Feb. 19, 1572. John Billingesley.

The Revels Account and the Acts assign the play to the Westminster boys, whose payee in 1567–8 was John Taylor.

Christmas, 1572–3. Leicester's. Three plays.
„ „ Paul's (Westcote).
„ „ Lincoln's (Lawrence Dutton).
„ „ Sussex's.
Jan. 1, 1573. Windsor (Farrant).
Jan. 6, 1573. Eton ([William] Elderton).
Feb. 3, 1573 (Shrove Tuesday). Mr Moncaster.

This was of course Richard Muncaster or Mulcaster, schoolmaster of the Merchant Taylors. Most of these plays, apart from the dates, could be inferred, together with the names of some of them, from the Revels Account in Cunningham, 32. I think that the Merchant Taylors played *Perseus and Andromeda.*

Christmas, 1573–4. Clinton's (Lawrence Dutton).

Lord Clinton had become Earl of Lincoln on May 4, 1572.

Dec. 27, 1573. Paul's (Westcote).
Jan. 6, 1574. Windsor (Farrant).

The above details supplement the information for 1573–4 already available in the Acts and Revels Accounts.

Feb. 13, 1575 (Shrove Sunday). Merchant Taylors (Muncaster).
Dec. 26, 1575. } Warwick's (John Dutton, Lawrence Dutton, Jerome
Jan. 1, 1576. } Savage).

This and the following payments are in the Acts (Dasent, IX. 68, 81), but without the payees. It is to be observed that Lawrence Dutton has figured in Lane's company (1571–2), in Lincoln's (1572–3) and in Warwick's (1575–6). This gives point to some satirical lines printed in *Reliquiae Antiquae,* II. 122, from *Harl. MS.,* 7392, which describes how 'The Duttons and theyr fellow-players forsakyng the Erle of Warwycke theyr mayster, became followers of the Erle of Oxford,' and were called, instead of Comoedians, Camoelions. The satirist adds, 'Their ancient home is called the Clynke.'

Feb. 2, 1576. Chamberlain's (John Adams).
Feb. 27, 1576. Alfruso Ferrabolle and the rest of the Italian players.

Italian players followed the progress to Windsor and Reading in 1574 (Cunningham, 77) and on Jan. 13, 1578, the Privy Council directed that Dronsiano an Italian commediante and his company should be allowed to play in London (Dasent, X. 144).

March 4, 1576 (Shrove Sunday). Leicester's ('Burbag').
Dec. 25, 1577. Leicester's.

The Acts (Dasent, x. 138, 185) give this and the Howard's men's play without the exact dates, and also the Chamberlain's men's Candlemas play. The other entries for 1577–8 are new.

Dec. 27, 1577. Chapel (Richard Farrant).

Farrant's services have been transferred to the Chapel since Dec. 27, 1575, when he brought the Windsor children. He was originally a Gentleman of the Chapel, and left for Windsor in 1564. On Nov. 5, 1569, he returned, but seems to have continued to direct the Windsor plays. He is still described as Master of the Children of the Chapel of Windsor in a non-dramatic entry in the Account for Nov. 7, 1577. He was never actually Master of the Children of the principal Chapel, for William Hunnis held this post from Nov. 15, 1566, until June 6, 1597, but in this and subsequent years Farrant seems to have acted as his substitute. Mrs Stopes, in her paper on Hunnis in *Athenaeum* (1900), I. 410, fails to notice this. He died on Nov. 30, 1580, and Hunnis reappears thereafter as payee for the Chapel.

Dec. 28, 1577. Warwick's.
Dec. 30, 1577. Paul's (Westcote).
Jan. 1, 1578. Howard's.
Jan. 6, 1578. Warwick's.
Feb. 2, 1578. Chamberlain's.

Unless there is an error in the Pipe Roll, this play was paid for twice over, on a warrant dated March 15. Dasent, x. 185, gives the date as March 14.

Feb. 9, 1578 (Shrove Sunday). Warwick's.
Feb. 11, 1578. Leicester's 'for making their repaire to the Courte wth their whole company and furniture to presente a playe before her ma^{tie}...in consideracon of their chardgies for that purpose although the plaie by her ma^{ties} comaundement was supplyed by others.'

They got the ordinary 'reward' of £6. 13*s.* 4*d.*, but not the 'more reward' of £3. 6*s.* 8*d.*

Feb. 11, 1578. Countess of Essex's.

No company under Lady Essex's name is on record, but Essex's men was one of six companies which the Lord Mayor was directed by the Privy Council on Dec. 24, 1578, to allow to exercise for Christmas in the City. Walter, Earl of Essex, died in 1576, and his son Robert was a boy of ten in Feb. 1578. The company did not appear at Court in

1578–9, or ever again. Lady Essex was disgraced in the summer of 1579, owing to the discovery of her secret marriage to Leicester.

Dec. 26, 1578. Warwick's.

This and the following five entries are in the Acts, but without precise dates.

Dec. 28, 1578. Chamberlain's.
Jan. 1, 1579. Paul's.
Jan. 4, 1579. Leicester's.
Jan. 6, 1579. Chamberlain's.
Jan. 6, 1579. Chapel (Farrant).
Feb. 2, 1579. Warwick's (Jerome Savage) 'in consideracon of a playe w^{ch} was in readiness to have bene presented before her Ma^{tie}.'

The Acts (Dasent, XI. 81) have the payment, but not the payee.

Jan. 15, 1580. Lord Strange's tumblers.

The Acts have the payment, but not the date.

Dec. 26, 1583. Queen's.
Dec. 29, 1583. Queen's.
Jan. 1, 1584. Oxford's ('Johon Lilie').
Jan. 6, 1584. Chapel.
Feb. 2, 1584. Chapel.
March 3, 1584 (Shrove Tuesday). Oxford's ('Johon Lilie').

The Acts and the Revels Accounts are both missing for this period, and it is thus that I am able to record for the first time not only the *début* at Court of the new company formed by the Master of the Revels under the title of Her Majesty's Servants in the previous spring, but also this very interesting allusion to John Lyly. It has of course long been known that Lyly was in the service of the Earl of Oxford, but there has been no evidence that he was in charge of his players, or that he had any connection with any company other than the Chapel and the Paul's boys. The company is described as 'the Erle of Oxforde his servauntes.' It is known that Oxford had a company of men, and the satire already quoted shows that they were formed by the secession of the Duttons and their fellows from Warwick. The Duttons, however, had joined the Queen's men in 1583. The last appearance of Warwick's at Court was on Jan. 1, 1580. On April 13, 1580, the Privy Council had to enquire into a fray between Robert Leveson and Larrance Dutton, 'servantes unto the Erle of Oxford' and the Inns of Court. Thomas Chesson seems also to have been concerned (Dasent, XI. 445; XII. 37, 112). On June 21, 1580, John Hatcher wrote from Cambridge to Burghley, explaining the objection of the Heads of Houses to let Oxford's men show plays which

they had already shown (doubtless as Warwick's) before the Queen (*S. P. Dom. Eliz.* CXXXIX. 26). There are other records of them in the provinces (R. W. Bond, *Lyly*, I. 24) and in January, 1586, they were setting up their bills in London (Collier, I. 257, from *Harl. MS.*, 286). One would hardly expect to find Lyly as payee for an ordinary company of this kind, and it is possible that the 'servauntes' whom he brought to Court were boys of Lord Oxford's Chapel, or perhaps a combination of these and the men. This is not a mere guess, for the Revels Account of 1584–5 records a performance on Dec. 27, 1584, by 'the Earle of Oxenford his boyes' (Cunningham, 188). The play was *Agamemnon and Ulysses*, a very probable subject for Lyly. It is a little puzzling that Lyly's *Campaspe* and *Sapho and Phao*, both published in 1584, are said on their title-pages to have been played before Elizabeth on New Year's Day and Shrove-Tuesday respectively, in each case by the Chapel and Paul's. If, as seems natural, these dates refer to the year of publication, they are exactly the dates on which Lyly brought Oxford's company to Court. Can these 'boys' possibly have been, not from Oxford's own Chapel, but selected from the royal Chapel and Paul's? It must, however, be added that some copies of *Campaspe* give the date as Twelfth Day instead of New Year's Day.

Christmas 1584–5. Queen's (Robert Willson). Four plays.

Both the Pipe Roll and the Revels Account give dates. The only new detail is the name of the payee.

Dec. 26, 1585. Queen's.
Dec. 27, 1585. Admiral's.

The first appearance of a company under this name. Charles, Lord Howard of Effingham, became Lord Admiral in succession to the Earl of Lincoln on July 8, 1585. The origins of this company, and its relation to other early companies will, I hope, be fully discussed by Mr W. W. Greg, in Vol. II. of his edition of *Henslowe's Diary*.

Jan. 1, 1586. Queen's.
Jan. 6, 1586. 'The Servantes of the lo: admirall and the lo: Chamberlaine.'

Halliwell, *Illustrations of the Life of Shakespeare*, 31, quotes this entry.

Jan. 9, 1586. 'John Symonds and Mr Standleyes Boyes...for Tumblinge and shewinge other feates of activitie.'

I suppose these to be the Lord Strange's tumblers of Jan. 15, 1580.

Feb. 13, 1586 (Shrove Sunday). Queen's.

This payment is in the Acts (Dasent, XIV. 20) and all these payments to the Queen's for this Christmas are in the Treasurer of the Chamber's Original Account (*Harl.*, 1641, ff. 20^{v}, 21).

Dec. 26, 1586. Queen's.
Dec. 27, 1586. Leicester's.

The last appearance of Leicester's men at Court

Jan. 1, 1587. } Queen's.
Jan. 6, 1587. }
Feb. 26, 1587 (Shrove Sunday). Paul's (Thomas Giles).
Feb. 28, 1587. Queen's.

The last is the only entry preserved in the Acts for this Christmas (Dasent, XV. 24).

Dec. 26, 1587. Queen's.
Dec. 28, 1587. John Simons and his company, 'feats of activitie.'
Jan. 1, 1588. Paul's (Giles).
Jan. 6, 1588. Queen's.
Feb. 2, 1588. Paul's (Giles).
Feb. 18, 1588 (Shrove Sunday). Queen's.

The Acts (Dasent, XV. 424) record the three Queen's plays alone, without exact dates. The Revels Account (Cunningham, 198) notes for this Christmas, 'vij playes besides feattes of activitie and other shewes by the childeren of Poles, her Ma^{tes} owne servantes and the gentlemen of Grayes In.' Gray's Inn played *The Misfortunes of Arthur* on Feb. 28, but naturally took no payment from the Treasurer of the Chamber. The seventh play was possibly one for which Collier, I. 259, says, without giving a reference, that George Evelyn of Wotton got paid 12*d.* [an impossible sum] in February through the good offices of Lord Warwick.

Dec. 29, 1588. } Admiral's, 'and for showinge
Feb. 11, 1589 (Shrove Tuesday). } other feates of activitye and tumblinge.'

The Acts (Dasent, XVII. 90) give the payments, assigning the second play wrongly to Feb. 9, but say nothing about the tumbling. As I shall note below, the tumbling has its importance.

Dec. 27, 1588. }
Jan. 1, 1589. } Paul's (Giles).
Jan. 12, 1589. }

The Acts (Dasent, XVII. 115) give the payment, without exact dates.

Dec. 27, 1590. } Strange's (George Ottewell),
Feb. 16, 1591 (Shrove Tuesday). } 'and for other feates of Activitye then also done by them.'

This is a particularly interesting entry, for it shows that Strange's men, who are the players amongst whom it is generally thought that Shakespeare first began to write for the stage, grew out of the *troupe* of tumblers who appeared at Court on Jan. 15, 1580, and, under the leadership of John Symonds, at intervals thereafter. The payment is recorded in the Acts (Dasent, xx. 327) and the 'feates of activitye' noted. But the players are described as the Admiral's, not as Strange's. It is not necessary to suppose an error. It is known that some sort of combination existed a year or two later between the companies, and that Edward Alleyn, although keeping the designation of 'my Lord Admiral's man,' was acting with Strange's. The Admiral's do not, as such, appear again in the Court records until 1594, in which year this combination was dissolved. The present entry seems to show that it dated from at least Christmas, 1590–1, and the performance of 'feates of activitye' by the Admiral's at Christmas, 1588–9, suggests that it already existed in that year. Strange's or Stanley's (Ferdinando Stanley, son of the Earl of Derby, being Lord Strange by courtesy) were only 'boys' in 1586. It seems that as they grew up they became players. Possibly, although proof is wanting, they were reinforced on the death of Leicester in September, 1588, by William Kempe and some of his fellows, who certainly belonged to the company at a later date. But Strange's men do not appear at Court as players before their amalgamation with the Admiral's; and it was probably their inheritance of the tradition of this company that made them the leading performers during the Christmases of 1591–2 and 1592–3.

Jan. 6, 1594. Queen's.

This performance, although not in Mr Fleay's lists, is noted by Mrs Stopes in the *Shakespeare-Jahrbuch*, xxxii. 183. It is in the Treasurer of the Chamber's Original Account, *Harl. MS.*, 1642, f. 19^{v}, as well as the Pipe Roll.

Dec. 28, 1594.
Jan. 1, 1595. } Admiral's (Edward Allen, Richard Jones, John Synger).
Jan. 6, 1595.

The famous entry for this same Christmas of a payment to the Chamberlain's (Lord Hunsdon's) men, in which Shakespeare makes his first appearance in the Court archives, as payee with William Kempe

and Richard Burbage, was, I believe, first given by Halliwell, *Illustrations of the Life of Shakespeare*, 31. The payment is for plays on St Stephen's Day (Dec. 26, 1594) and Innocents' Day (Dec. 28). It is to be observed that the Admiral's were also paid for Dec. 28. Two plays on one day would not be unprecedented, but as the Court was at Greenwich, and it is recorded in the *Gesta Grayorum* that 'a company of base and common fellows' played 'a Comedy of Errors' in Gray's Inn on Innocents' Day, I think it is not unlikely that the second play of the Chamberlain's men before Elizabeth was really on St John's Day (Dec. 27).

Jan. 1, 1596. Jan. 4, 1596. Feb. 22, 1596 (Shrove Sunday). Feb. 24, 1596.	Admiral's (Edward Allen and Martin Slater).
Dec. 26, 1596. Dec. 27, 1596. Jan. 1, 1597. Jan. 6, 1597. Feb. 6, 1597 (Shrove Sunday). Feb. 8, 1597.	Chamberlain's (Thomas Pope and John Heminges).

The Acts (Dasent, XXVIII. 151) give the payments without the exact dates. The company is called the Lord Chamberlain's, because payment was not made until Nov. 27, 1597. At the actual time of the performances it was Lord Hunsdon's. Henry Lord Hunsdon died on July 22, 1596, and was succeeded as Chamberlain by Lord Cobham on Aug. 8. Cobham died on March 5, 1597, and George Lord Hunsdon, who had retained his father's players, became Chamberlain on April 17, 1597.

Dec. 26, 1597. Jan. 1, 1598. Jan. 6, 1598. Feb. 26, 1598 (Shrove Sunday).	Chamberlain's (Heminges and Pope).
Dec. 27, 1597. Feb. 28, 1598.	Nottingham's [Admiral's] (Robert Shawe and Thomas Downton).

These payments are also in the Acts without the exact dates (Dasent, XXIX. 324). The Lord High Admiral, Lord Howard of Effingham, was created Earl of Nottingham on Oct. 23, 1597.

Dec. 27, 1598. Jan. 6, 1599. Feb. 18, 1599 (Shrove Sunday).	Nottingham's [Admiral's] (Shawe and Downton).

Jan. 1, 1601. } Derby's (Robert Browne).
Jan. 6, 1601. }

Dec. 26, 1601. }
Dec. 27, 1601. } Chamberlain's (Hemyng).
Jan. 1, 1602. }
Feb. 14, 1602 (Shrove Sunday). }

Dec. 27, 1601. Admiral's [Nottingham's] (Allen).

Jan. 3, 1602. } Worcester's (William Kempe and Thomas Heywood).
Feb. 14, 1602. }

Jan. 6, 1602. } Chapel (Nathaniel Gyles).
Jan. 10, 1602. }

Jan. 1, 1603. Paul's (Edward Peirs).

Jan. 6, 1603. Hertford's (Martin Slater).

Here I must stop, reserving for later treatment such new facts as the Accounts yield with regard to the Court performances of James the First's reign. These are comparatively scanty, in proportion as the Original Accounts searched by Cunningham are fuller for this period. In conclusion, I want to point a moral, against the undesirability of inferring negative conclusions from the absence of evidence. In other fields of research the warning would perhaps be uncalled for, but your historian of literature has too often failed to do his homage to Queen Barbara. The ingenious Mr Fleay has constructed divers edifices of argument on the assumption that his elaborate lists of Court performances are complete, without, as it would seem, asking himself whether any exhaustive examination had been made of the sources from which they were drawn. He tells us (*History of the Stage*, 123) that no plays were shown at Court during the Christmas of 1601–2, and unfortunately even goes on to give a reason, namely that 'The offensive acting of Richard 2 [in connection with the Essex revolt] put plays out of favour this year.' But as a matter of fact there were nine plays, a number which had not been reached since the Christmas of 1591–2; only they are not recorded either by Chalmers or by Cunningham. It is true that, according to a letter of Dudley Carleton to John Chamberlain (*S. P. Dom. Eliz.* CCLXXXII. 48) on December 29, there was such a small Court that the guard was not troubled to keep the doors at the plays and pastimes; but it is clear that even the abundant supply of official plays did not exhaust the old queen's capacity for finding, or endeavouring to find, distraction in the drama. Carleton goes on to say, 'The Queen dined today privately at my Lord Chamberlain's. I have just come from the Blackfriars, where I saw her at the play with all her *candidae auditrices*.' The play referred

to must, I think, have been part of the entertainment given to the Queen by the Lord Chamberlain (Lord Hunsdon) who had a house in the Blackfriars. It would be tempting to find evidence in Carleton's gossip of a visit paid by Elizabeth to the famous Blackfriars theatre, built by the Burbages in 1596, and occupied in 1601 by the Children of the Chapel under Nathaniel Giles. But I know of no other indication that Elizabeth ever attended a play in public, even at one of the so-called private houses. It is perhaps natural to assume that Lord Hunsdon employed his own company of players on this occasion, in spite of their ill-inspired performance of *Richard the Second*, to which Mr Fleay refers.

E. K. CHAMBERS.

THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE 'ISLE SONNANTE.'

The publication by the *Société des Études Rabelaisiennes* of a reprint of the *Isle Sonnante*, admirably edited by MM. Abel Lefranc and Jacques Boulenger from the unique copy in the possession of a private owner, has enabled students for the first time to make a careful study of the text of this first instalment of the Fifth Book of *Pantagruel*. It will be recollected that the *Isle Sonnante* appeared in 1562 (between eight and ten years after Rabelais's death) without either the publisher's name or the place of publication, and that it professed to be the continuation of Pantagruel's voyage written by Rabelais himself. It was followed in 1564 by the publication of the complete Fifth Book, which also professed to be Rabelais's work. Further, there is a manuscript of the whole Book in the Bibliothèque Nationale; it is written in a sixteenth century hand which is certainly not Rabelais's. Previous to the reprint of the *Isle Sonnante*, it might have been supposed—in fact, I did so suppose—that this MS. represented the oldest form of the text. But M. Boulenger in his excellent introduction to the reprint has made it clear that it really represents a stage intermediate between the *Isle Sonnante* and the text of 1564.

Before proceeding to a detailed examination of the *Isle Sonnante* it will be well if I point out with the help of M. Boulenger's guidance the characteristics of the three texts.

Isle Sonnante.

1. The punctuation is very faulty, with the result that in many places the text becomes absolute nonsense.

2. 'The text,' says M. Boulenger, 'is disfigured with printer's errors.' This is true, but it should be added that the great majority of the errors are in proper names, or in technical terms, or in words taken from Latin or Greek. Mistakes in ordinary words are not very numerous, though when they occur they are extremely stupid. The

most glaring are *rouchee* for *conchié* (chap. v), *manifreque* for *magnifique* (chap. v), *trimballe element* for *triballement* (chap. vii), *mouoir* for *manoir* (chap. x), *tharus* for *thaons* (chap. xii), *ains* for *ame* (chap. xiii), *relonie* for *colonie* (chap. xvi). All of these are of course due to inability to decipher the manuscript.

3. There are certain incoherences in the language. For instance, *Il est, dist Epistemon Auriste en preterit plus que parfait des Grecs et des Latins en temps garré et bigarré receu* (chap. i), which gives no sense as it stands, and which is scarcely intelligible, even when it has been corrected into *Aorist yssu en Preterit tres imparfait* (MS.), or *Aorist yssu de preterit* (1564). M. Boulenger gives another instance from the first paragraph of chap. iv: *Ils...nous viennent de l'autre monde part d'une contrée...part d'une autre.... De ces deux contrées auons aboutées. Ces clerczgaulx ici nous viennent laissans pere et mere.* There is clearly something wrong here. Accordingly in the MS. the last part is altered to: *De ces deux contrées tous les ans a boutees* (in flocks) *ces clergaulx icy nous viennent* etc., and this is followed by the 1564 text with the addition of an accent to the *a*. The substitution of *tous les ans* for *auons* is not very convincing, and it seems more likely that the simple correction of *aboutées* into *à boutées* should be adopted. In this case it would merely be an instance of a printer's error.

M. Boulenger infers from these characteristics of the printed text that the manuscript from which it was printed was carelessly punctuated, badly written, and not finally revised; in fact, a rough copy. And he adduces an even stronger proof of this conclusion in the following passage from chap. xi: *...attendant que la dedans tombe la fouldre du ciel et en cendre les reduise comme autres Cytanes pro. et Ther....* where the true reading, as we learn from the MS. and the 1564 text, is *Tytanes profanes et theomaches* (MS. *theomathes*)[1]. Clearly, as M. Boulenger says, *pro. et Ther*[*o*] are not abbreviations introduced by the printer. He must have found them in the manuscript. While agreeing with M. Boulenger's view that the manuscript represented by the *Isle Sonnante* is a rough copy, I do not believe that the printer had the original draft before him. It seems to me that the corrupt condition of the printed text is most reasonably accounted for by the supposition that it was made from a careless copy of the original draft. Indeed, I take it that M. Boulenger's theory is not meant to exclude

[1] In this and two or three other places M. Boulenger has kindly supplied me with the reading of the MS. as given in Montaiglon's edition, which I do not possess, and of which there is no copy in the British Museum.

this hypothesis. It will be convenient for future reference if I call the original draft A and the hypothetical copy B.

But we may draw another inference from the condition of the printed text. Whoever the author was, he did not see his work through the press. The misprints are too numerous and of too gross a character to make it conceivable that he can have revised the proofs, even in those days of careless proof-reading. If the *Isle Sonnante* is the work of a forger, that forger must have been prevented either by death or by some other cause from seeing it through the press. For it is difficult to believe that anyone who had taken the trouble to produce the forgery, either with or without the assistance of fragments left by Rabelais, should have been at no pains to ensure its being printed with comparative accuracy. We are left to the conclusion that the *Isle Sonnante* must have been written either by Rabelais, or by a forger who died before it was printed or for some other reason was unable to supervise the printing.

The MS. of the Bibliothèque Nationale.

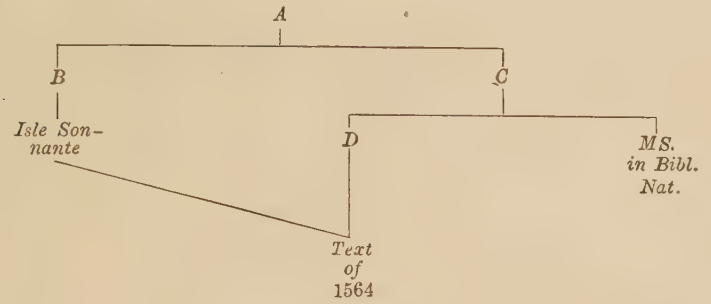
1. It introduces some intelligent and evidently sound corrections into the text.
2. It leaves blanks in some places where the *Isle Sonnante* has evidently made a guess.
3. It omits whole lines through carelessness.
4. It sometimes transcribes proper names incorrectly.

As the writing according to experts is of the end of the sixteenth century, the MS. cannot be the original draft of the revised or second stage of the text. It must be a copy made by a faithful but unlearned and unintelligent scribe. I will call the missing original of this revised text C. The revision was evidently the work, not of the author of the *Isle Sonnante,* but of a later editor.

The Text of 1564.

This represents a third stage of the text, the editor of which, while availing himself of many of the corrections of the MS., introduces fresh ones. He resorts freely to conjecture and otherwise treats the text with considerable licence. He even interpolates a few passages. Many of his conjectures are demonstrably wrong. The text was presumably printed from a revised copy of C, which I will call D. The following

diagram will make clear my view of the relationship between our three texts:



I will now proceed to consider the contents of the *Isle Sonnante* in detail. It consists of five episodes:

Isle Sonnante proper (chaps. i—viii).
Isle de Ferremens (chap. ix).
Isle de Cassade (chap. x).
The *Chats fourrés* (chaps. xi—xv).
Isle des Apedeftes (chap. xvi).

Isle Sonnante.

Chapter I.

There is a notable difference of reading at the very outset between our three texts, but I will defer the consideration of this till later.

Jergueau, Medon. MS.: *Jargueau, Mandes* (Mantes). 1564: *Tours, Gergeau, Nantes.* Jargeau is a little town on the Loire above Orleans, from which it is distant twelve miles. It is celebrated in history as the place where the Earl of Suffolk was besieged by the French under the Maid of Orleans and after ten days forced to surrender. The mention of it suggests the authorship of Rabelais, as he was well acquainted with Orleans and its neighbourhood, while there is no apparent reason for its being selected by a forger. On the other hand, a forger might have pitched upon Medon (Meudon), though one does not see why it should have been altered to either Mantes (in Normandy) or Nantes, places with which, as far as we know, Rabelais had no connection.

au tour du sepulchre en l'isle de Lipare, autour des Arolides. The MS. has rightly corrected this into *l'une des Aeolides. Autour* is doubtless a repetition in error of the previous *au tour,* and may be the slip either of the original author or of a copyist.

tremblement. MS.: *treballement.* 1564: *triballement.*

natif de Glatigny. So MS. 1564: *Glenay.* Glatigny is the name of a chateau of the Du Bellay family. Glenay, according to Des Marets and Rathery, is a village near Chinon, but I cannot find it on the map.

Il est, dit Epistemon, Auriste en preterit etc. I have already referred to this passage, in which there is some evident confusion, suggestive rather of a careless copy than a rough draft.

Beuuons tousiours. Beuuons is evidently a mistake and is rightly corrected in the MS. to *ieunons,* which the sense demands.

Note the inversion in *autrement receuz ne serions.*

Chapter II.

les transformations de Proque, Itis, Alcione, Alcithoe, Antigone, Thibeus et autres, en oyseaulx. Before *Proque,* which is of course a mistake for *Progne,* the MS. has *Nyctimene,* which the printer of the *Isle Sonnante* doubtless omitted. For *Alcione* the MS. substitutes *Alcmene,* an unfortunate correction; it also omits *Alcithoe,* who was changed by Dionysus into a bat, and rightly corrects *Thibeus* into *Tereus.*

At the very end of the chapter, the editor of the 1564 text has added a couple of lines which have been alleged by some critics as disproving Rabelais's authorship of the whole Fifth Book, but there is no trace of them either in the *Isle Sonnante* or in the MS.

Chapter III.

We are here told that it is about 2760 moons since two Popejays were produced. Now as Mr W. F. Smith has suggested, this must be taken to refer, not to the beginning of the Great Schism in 1378, but to the appointment of an anti-pope in 1328. But 2760 moons correspond not to 212 years and 4 months, as he reckons, but (taking the moon as equal to 29½ days) to a little over 223 years, which brings us to the year 1551.

Ils auoient en aduertissement par Robert vbalbrun qui par la nagueres estoit passé, comment du pais d'aphrique bien tost y deuoit aduoller une sexte espece lesquels ils nommoient Caputragaulx. For *Robert vbalbrun* (*vb* is obviously a printer's substitute for *W*) the MS. has *Rembert Wabring* and the 1564 text *Robert Valbringue,* but *Walbrun* or *Valbrun* is right. According to Le Duchat the person meant is Jean-François de la Roque, sieur de Roberval, on whom the

high-sounding title of Viceroy of Canada was conferred by Francis I, and who 'passed that way' on his voyage to Canada in 1542, and on his return in 1543. This is doubtless correct, and taken in conjunction with the identification of Jamet Brayer with Jacques Cartier and of Xenomanes with Jean Alfonse of Saintonge, which M. Lefranc has proved almost beyond dispute, points strongly to the authorship of Rabelais.

The text of 1564 has made nonsense of the passage by reading *en revenant* for *comment*. On the other hand, it rightly corrects *Caputragaulx* into *Capucingaux*. But this reference to the Order of Capuchins presents considerable difficulties. Seeing that it was founded, or rather received the Papal confirmation in 1528, why is Roberval represented as saying in 1542 or 1543 that 'the Capuchinjays were soon to fly thither from Africa'? As regards the connexion with Africa, I have no explanation to suggest, but the rest of the sentence may be an allusion to the fact that the Capuchins, who in consequence of the Protestant heresies of Bernardino de Ochino, the General of their Order, had been forbidden to preach in 1543, had the privilege restored to them in 1545. If this explanation is correct, it would point to the passage having been written not long after 1545.

The chapter concludes with a free rendering of the Greek proverb *ἀεὶ φέρει τι Λιβύη καινόν*, of which we have a more literal translation in *Garg.* chap. xvi.

Chapter IV.

The whole of this chapter seems to me to bear the impress of Rabelais's genius. The style throughout is his, and the conception of the two countries called 'Breadless-day' and 'Too-many-of-them,' which supply the Clerjays, is worthy of him at his best. But these are matters of individual opinion; it is more to the point to note details which suggest Rabelais's authorship. For example, the numerous words coined from Greek origin: *apotrophées, linostolies, charisteres, catarates, scythropes*—of most of which the printer of the *Isle Sonnante* has naturally made havoc—and the equally numerous references to ancient religions—to the Vestal Virgins, to Pythagoras, to Isis, to Oromasis and Ahrimanes—suggest an author of considerable learning. The mention of the island of Bouchard in the Vienne near Chinon might be due to a skilful forger, but when one reads of 'the mothers who cannot endure their children in their houses for nine years, but put a shirt over their dress and cut a few hairs on the top of their heads,'

one is forcibly reminded of Rabelais, of whom his biographer Le Roy says that he was made a monk 'when he scarcely attained his tenth year.' For he came from the country of 'Too-many-of-them,' and his father's property—for the most part in land—was not sufficient to provide for him, as well as for his two brothers and his sister. Further, we have a very characteristic inversion in *Lesquels ont cerché pour a mort ignominieusement mettre*, and a reminiscence of Virgil's *malesuada fames* in *patir malesuade famine*, the correction of the MS. for *partir mallesuade de faim*. It may be also noted that at the end of the first sentence several words: *je voudrois bien entendre d'ond vous naissent ces clergaux* (1564), which are necessary to the sense, are omitted in the *Isle Sonnante*.

Chapter V.

The readings of the *Isle Sonnante*, *un diametre*, instead of *deux diametres*, and *une ligne perpendiculaire droicte*, instead of *une ligne perpendiculaire tombante soubz une ligne droicte*, are, M. Boulenger points out, indications that it is printed from an unrevised draft. The second mistake, however, may be due to an omission on the printer's part. Further on we have not only a Rabelaisian inversion in *nous feist par les Alapthes* (read *Aliptes*) *oindre*, but additional evidence of an unrevised draft. For the sense requires *faire* instead of *feist*, a correction which has been made in the 1564 text.

Chapter VI.

Atlas et tous les Verones is the characteristic reading of the *Isle Sonnante* for *Aeolus et tous les Veioves*. A little further on the three texts differ in instructive fashion: *De Touraine tant et tant de bien annuellement nous en vient qu'en sommes tous resiouis. Nous dist vn jour par cy passant que....* MS.: *De Touraine...nous vient que* [blank] *nous dist un jour par cy passant que....* 1564: *De Touraine...nous viennent que nous fut dit un jour par gens du lieu par cy passans que....* As M. Boulenger points out, it is evident that the printer of the *Isle Sonnante*, not being able to decipher the word, evidently a proper name, has made a random guess, which leaves *dist* without a subject. On the other hand, the scribe of the MS. has conscientiously left a blank, while the 1564 editor, who had no scruples about adhering to the text, has got out of the difficulty by altering the sentence.

Ces grosses cloches que voyez pendantes aux tours de leur caiges. This reading of both the *Isle Sonnante* and the MS. has been altered by the 1564 editor to *pendues autour*, but as the author doubtless has in

his mind the *campaniles* which are still so marked a feature of Rome, the older reading is correct.

The concluding words of the chapter: *O gens heureux o Semidieux, pleust au Ciel qu'il ni aduint ainsi*, are an inaccurate quotation from a well-known epigram by Victor Brodeau. The inaccuracy is more suggestive of Rabelais than of an imitator, and on the whole it may be said of this chapter that the imitator, if imitator he be, must have been not only a man of genius, but a singularly skilful forger.

Chapter VII.

This contains the famous apologue of the Charger and the Ass. It seems to me to be told in Rabelais's best manner, and this impression of Rabelais's authorship is confirmed by various details. For instance, we have some remarkable inversions in *ton petit pas avecques moy venir* and *Par la figue, respondit l'asne, laquelle un de noz ancestres mangeant mourut Philemon de rire.* And nothing can be more characteristic of Rabelais's humour than the dignified rebuke which the charger administers to the ass for addressing him as *Monsieur le Cheval* instead of *Monsieur le Roussin.* '*Il y a bien monsieur le Roussin pour toy Bandet.*'

Certain differences between the three texts are deserving of notice.

Apres auoir bien repeu. MS. and 1564: *Avoir bien ben et bien repeu.* The ellipse of *après* is a remarkable peculiarity of Rabelais's syntax. It does not occur in the first two books, but becomes common in the third. It is rarely used by other writers later than Rabelais (see Huguet, *Études sur le Syntaxe de Rabelais*, pp. 358 ff., and A. Lefranc, *Les Navigations de Pantagruel*, p. 190, and the glossary of Marty-Laveaux's edition, pp. 42, 43). This being the case, it is somewhat surprising to find the ordinary form in the *Isle Sonnante* and the rarer form in the MS. and the text of 1564.

non cibus, sed charitas. MS.: *non cibus charitas.* 1564: *non zelus, sed charitas.*

le palefrenier du seigneur de Harenganois. MS.: *le pallefrenier du Seigneur* [blank]. 1564: *le pallefrenier d'un gentilhomme.*

a l'oree d'un buissonnet. So the MS., but the 1564 text has *a l'ombre*, which is correct; the words are the first line of a popular chanson.

un tronçon de chere lie. 1564: *un tronçon de bonne chere.* There is no reason for altering *lie*; the expression is used by La Fontaine in the same sense.

erner. 1564: *esrener.* Both these are older forms of the modern *éreinter.*

Chapter VIII.

The 'two little Cardinjays' by whom Popejay is accompanied remind one of the 'two little Cardinals,' grandsons of Paul III, of whom Rabelais speaks in one of his letters from Rome to the Bishop of Maillezais. They had both been made cardinals by their grandfather in 1534, when they were barely sixteen. Paul III died in 1550, so that, if he is the Popejay of this chapter, it must have been written before that date; it is possible, however, that the writer has no particular Pope in his mind.

Comme sagement nota Michel de Malisconne. 1564: *Michael de Matiscones.* MS.: *Michael de Matisconis.* The MS. is doubtless right and the reference is probably to some bishop of Maçon. It may be remembered that Charles Hemard, Bishop of Maçon, was French Ambassador at Rome when Rabelais was there in 1535–36. No previous occupant of the see bore the Christian name of Michael.

Par moyen autre bien chanter vous feray. Note the inversion.

frapper par la mittre. MS.: *le mylé.* 1564: *ferir par la moitie.* With the substitution of *mitre* for *mittre* the *Isle Sonnante* is surely right.

frappé serois tu et meurtry: tous roys et princes du monde for *frappe, feris, tue et meurtris tous roys* etc. is characteristic of the nonsense which the *Isle Sonnante* sometimes produces.

Le quatriesme iour. This is clearly right, though the 1564 edition has altered it to *troisiesme.*

In the next sentence we find another instructive difference between the three texts. *Lequel il print plus a gre que ne feist Ataxerxes le verre d'eau froide que lui presenta un paisant en Scythie.* So the *Isle Sonnante*; but for *Scythie* the MS. leaves a blank, while the 1564 editor stops short after *un paisant.* Now if we turn to Plutarch's life of Artaxerxes Mnemon we read that during one of his journeys a labouring man having no present to give him took up some water from the river in his two hands and offered it to him. But there is no mention of Scythia, nor, so far as our information goes, did Artaxerxes ever visit that country. Evidently our author had not his Plutarch before him, for he speaks of a *glass* of water; but did he write *en Scythie,* and, if so, why did the editor of the text of which the MS. is a copy, leave a blank, and the 1564 editor omit the words altogether? Was *Scythie* a guess on the

part of the printer of the *Isle Sonnante*, or did the editor of the revised text consult his Plutarch and find that *Scythie* was wrong?

Having now examined the chapters which form the episode of the *Isle Sonnante*, it will be well to pause to take stock of the results. The following features are all more or less in favour of Rabelais's authorship.

1. The incorrectness of the printing, showing the absence of any supervision on the part of the author.
2. The indications that the author had not finally revised his manuscript.
3. The reference to Roberval.
4. The numerous illustrations and references derived from classical antiquity.
5. The use of bold inversions.
6. The frequent references to Touraine and especially to the neighbourhood of Chinon.

Of course not a single one of these features is conclusive in Rabelais's favour. The author may have been a man of considerable learning, he may have taken or simulated interest in French voyages of discovery, he may have introduced references to Rabelais's country with intent to deceive, he may have imitated his use of inversion, and finally he may have died or disappeared before he had seen his work through the press or been able to revise it. But the cumulative weight of the evidence certainly points to Rabelais having had at least a share in the work.

Can we then accept the view which commended itself to the cautious and experienced judgment of Marty-Laveaux, that Rabelais's authentic fragments have been worked up by a later editor? But this does not account for the corrupt condition of the text of the *Isle Sonnante*, except on the supposition that the editor had died or disappeared before he had completed his task. Absence from France might indeed have prevented him from seeing his work through the press, but if he was not in France, how did he become possessed of Rabelais's manuscripts? And why did he send his work to the printer in the form of a rough draft?

On the whole, then, the theory that Rabelais is the author of the whole of the *Isle Sonnante* certainly presents the fewest difficulties. Accepting this theory as a provisional hypothesis, we next ask ourselves, When did he write it? Did he write it after the Fourth Book with

the definite intention that it should form the beginning of a Fifth Book? Or are the various chapters which compose it fragments which he had rejected, or had at any rate laid aside, with the idea of possibly utilising them for his next Book, but without having definitely worked them up into a continuous narrative?

Let us consider from this point of view the episode of the *Isle Sonnante*, and first let us return to the puzzling difference between our three texts at the beginning of chapter i.

Cestuy iour et les deux aultres subsequens ne leur apparut terre ou autre chose nouuelle; car autrefois auoyent erré (*arré* = 'ploughed') *ceste c(r)oute. Au quatriesme iour commençans tournoier le Pole, nous esloignans de l'equinoctial nous apperceumes terre: et nous fut dict par notre Pilote que c'estoit l'isle des Triphes, entendismes un son de loing venant....* MS.: *Estant montes sur mer et navigans par plusieurs iours avec bon vent entendismes un son* etc. 1564: *Continuant nostre routte nauigasmes par trois iours sans rien descouurir, au quatriesme aperceusmes terre, et nous fut dit par nostre pillot, que c'estoit l'Isle Sonnante, et entendismes un bruit de loing venant.*

It should be further remarked that in the *Isle Sonnante* there is no heading to this chapter, while the MS. has *Comment avec le bon Pantagruel montant sur mer fismes scalle en l'isle Sonnante.*

Of these various texts that of 1564 is evidently due to the invention of the editor. It is otherwise with that of the MS., the reading of which, together with the heading of the chapter, is so much more appropriate to the commencement than to the continuation of a voyage that it is difficult to believe that it is not original. If it is, then we must suppose that Rabelais—whom provisionally we are assuming to be the author of the whole episode of the *Isle Sonnante*—began this chapter as the opening one of the Fourth Book, writing it in 1546 soon after the publication of the Third Book. Then it may have occurred to him that this was too abrupt a beginning for so notable a voyage, and he may have substituted for it what now stands as chapter i of the Fourth Book. In favour of this supposition it may be noted that the heading of that chapter, *Comment Pantagruel monta sur mer* etc., resembles the heading of the MS. and its opening words.

With regard to the reading of the *Isle Sonnante*, are we to accept M. Boulenger's theory that it is due to its 'editor'—if we can dignify the person who handed the manuscript over to the printer by this name—who, finding the manuscript opened abruptly without a proper beginning, added one of his own, which he borrowed partly from

chapter ii and partly from chapter v of the Fourth Book? This may be so, though even this amount of invention seems to me to be beyond the powers of the 'editor.' But M. Boulenger appears to have overlooked the fact that the very same combination is to be found at the beginning of chapter ii of the incomplete edition of the Fourth Book published in 1548. Is it not possible that the editor of the *Isle Sonnante* found the words in Rabelais's manuscript, Rabelais having substituted them for those represented by the MS. after he had written chapter i of the Fourth Book? If this is so, we must further assume that Rabelais at this period rejected the whole episode of the *Isle Sonnante*—possibly as containing too much dangerous matter—but retained the opening words for the new chapter ii of the Fourth Book, of 1548.

This theory that Rabelais wrote the episode of the *Isle Sonnante* in 1546 agrees with the reference to the Capuchins in chapter iii, and with that to the 'two little Cardinjays' in chapter viii, so far as they furnish any indication of date. On the other hand, we have seen that the mention of the 2760 moons in chapter iii, if any importance is to be attached to it, points to the year 1551 as that in which the episode was written. For it must be remembered that, though Pantagruel's voyage is supposed to have taken place in 1546, the year in which Rabelais began to write his account of it, he by no means adheres consistently to this date. The only way of getting out of the difficulty is to suppose that Rabelais again in 1551 contemplated the possibility of using the episode and, forgetting the supposed date of the voyage, altered 2700 moons to 2760 by inserting *soixante*.

This theory, I admit, involves a good many suppositions for which there is but slight evidence. But it has the merit of suggesting an explanation for the readings both of the *Isle Sonnante* and the MS. at the beginning of chapter i, which, if more complicated than the theory that they are both due to the invention of their respective editors, seems to me far more credible. At any rate, I submit my conjectures for what they are worth; further evidence may some day be forthcoming to confirm or refute them.

ARTHUR TILLEY.

(To be concluded.)

SOME OLD FRENCH POEMS ON THE ANTICHRIST.

II.

Version of Geffroi de Paris.

This second Old French poem on the Antichrist, in octosyllabic riming couplets, is published here for the first time, according to the MS. français 1526 (f° 179 *et seq.*) of the Bibliothèque Nationale. It is contained in the so-called *Bible des sept états du monde* of Geffroi de Paris, a vast work of some 22,000 lines, in which the author did not scruple to incorporate a number of writings of various kinds which are not his own. For example, J. Bonnard (*Les Traductions de la Bible en vers français au moyen âge*, pp. 42 *et seq.*) has pointed out that the well known passage of the Passion opening with the words 'Oies moi trestot doucement' has been intercalated by Geffroi in his Bible without acknowledgment of any kind. More lately H. Andresen (*Zeitschr. für rom. Phil.* xxii, 49–90) has shown in an interesting article that the poem of G. de Paris that follows his *Antichrist* and which might almost be a loose continuation of it, is made up of three borrowed pieces, one filched from an unknown author and the other two from Huon le Roi, with slight changes in form. Whether the authorship of the present poem on the Antichrist can with certainty be attributed to Geffroi de Paris it is impossible to say; all that can be said is that it has not so far been traced to any other source. This being the case, we may perhaps be allowed to give the benefit of the doubt to Geffroi de Paris.

[179 b] *Ci commence nostre sissieme livre:*
D'Antecrist et de sa subdicion.

Ouez por Dieu et por son non
Vous qui avez sanz et reson.
Cist sistes livres sanz faillie
Dit d'Antecrist et de sa vie.

L'escreture dist et espont,
Qu'encontre la fin de cest mont,
[179 c] Doit Antecrist venir en terre
Por le monde s'il puet conquerre.
Ce dient sages clers letrez,
Qu'en Babiloine sera nez;
De la ligniée a Dem istra.
I prophaite le dist pieça.
Por ce iert il nommé Antecrist
Qu'il (l)iert contrere a Ihesu Crist
De quanque il fere porra.
Or ouez comme il avendra:
Ausi com Dieu de grace empli
La vierge de qui il nasqui,
Celle dont Antecrist nestra
Del deable plainne sera.
Par le deable iert conceüs
Et formez et nez et creüz;
L'engin aura de l'aversier;
Por ce fera maint encombrier.

Ci parole des fax
Miracles Antecrist.

Quant d'aage .xv. anz aura,
Adonques preeschier voudra;
Filz Dieu se fera et magistres;
Par le monde aura ses menistres
Sa doctrine preescheront;
Hommes et fames decevront.
Antecrist tout premierement
Acointera la haute gent,
Par avoir que il leur donra,
Par fax miracles qu'il fera.
[179 d] Ce fera il por mieuz avoir
Sus l'autre peuple le pooir.
Quant il issi aura seurprise
La haute gent a sa devise,
Adonques ira preeschier
Par leur contrées sanz targier.

Moult fera de fauses vertuz,
Dont pluseurs seront deceüz:
Aus povres donra a mengier;
Ce sera por eus engingnier;
Les malades de dolors plains
Par fax miracles fera sains;
Les rivieres corre fera
Contremont de ça et de là,
Et parmi l'air de leu en leu
Fera corre et voler le feu;
Les arbres fera esrachier
Touz de leur gré sanz riens touchier,
Puis fera qu'il redreceront
Les racines en contremont;
Et les branches sanz plus atendre
Fera en la terre reprendre;
Les racines fera fueillir
Et reverdoier et flourir,
Mais ja fruit croistre n'y fera.
Le pooir mie n'en aura.
D'autres signes fera il tant
Que nes diroit nus hom vivant.
[180 a] Mes ja nus n'en fera estables,
Que tuit seront fet par deable[s].

Comment li Juif creiront Antecrist,
Et moult autres gens.

Quant tout ce verront li Ebrieu,
Si diront que c'est le filz Dieu
Qui en la loi leur fu pramis
Par les sainz propheites jadis.
Qui Jhesu Crist ne crurent mie,
Por ce qu'il fu de leur lignie,
A celui se consentiront,
Por ce qu'il ne le connoistront;
Plus tost seront a lui enclin
Que Crestien ne Sarrazin.
Mes sachiez bien, ne doutez ja,
De moult d'autres creüs sera:

Des Crestiens meesmement,
Quant il verront apartement
Les miracles et les vertuz,
Par quoi il seront deceüz.
Meïsmement li clers letrez
Qui des escuz seront fondez
En seront lors en grant error,
Dont ce sera moult grant dolor.
Toutevoies li plus certain
Qui de science seront plain,
Qui apercevront sa boidie,
Cil ne s'y consentiront mie;
Au peuple mosteront la voie,
[180 b] Et diront que il les desvoie,
Et que ci erent fauces vertuz.
Donc leur cors seront esmeüz,
Par quoi aucun s'en retrairont,
Et Antecrist pas ne creront.
Adonques sera Antecriz
Moult courouciez et moult mariz,
Par la poour des hautes genz.
Prendra chevaliers et serjanz;
Touz ceus fera mestre a martire
Qui de riens le voudront desdire;
Pluseurs en fera tormenter,
Por les autres espoventer;
Et ceus que vaincre ne porra
Par tormenz si les occirra;
Et ceus qui se convertiront
A lui et qui en lui cresront
Fera il riches durement,
Et leur donra or et argent.
Einsi fera il son vouloir:
Les uns aura par son avoir,
Les autres aura par paor
De mort dont seront en dolor.
La persecution sera,
Que li propheite dist pieça,
Qui doit venir sus Crestiens.
Et ce sera en icel tens.

Comment Helies et Henoc vendront
Desputer contre Antecrist, et comme
Il les occirra.

[180 c] Adonques Dieu de majesté
Aura de son peuple pistié:
Helyes et Enoch vendront,
Et en cest siecle descendront
Por sa verité demostrer
Et por les gens raseürer,
Et si seront vestuz de sas.
Ce dist l'escreture sans gas.
Par le monde preescheront;
La verité anonceront
Au peuple; qui iert desvoiez
Par ceus sera reconceilliez.
A Antecrist, sanz rienz douter,
Vendront li prophaite parler;
Devant le peuple parleront,
Et contre lui desputeront
Des prophecies de la loi,
Et li proveront sanz delai
Qu'il est traïtre et losengier,
Et que veut le peuple engingnier.
Et Antecrist, sanz demourer,
Tantost les fera decoler.
En Ierusalem la cité
Seront occis pas verité,
Mes au tiers jor susciteront,
Et d'ileques se leveront;
Comme devant reseront vis,
Et s'en iront en paradis.

De la mort Antecrist, et comment
Li Juif se convertiront a Dieu.

[180 d] Adonc, quant occis les aura,
Antecrist son peuple mainra
El mont Olivet preeschier,
Et dira: or me tenez chier;

Bien avez veü ma puiçance,
Et comment j'ai prise vengance
De ceus qui contre moi aloient,
Et qui desdire me vouloient.
Je vois apareillier vos liex.
Adonc voudra monter es ciex;
En l'air amont se levera,
Mes Sainz Esperiz l'ocira;
Mort le trebuchera a terre.
Lors sera finée sa guerre;
Del cors s'en istra l'aversier;
Sa char purra comme femier.
Lors se tendront a deceü
Cil qui auront en lui creü.
Et Dieu si dorra de respitz
.XL. jors toz acompliz
Au peuple por eus confesser,
Et por leur vies amender,
A ceus qui ceront deceüz
D'Antecrist et de ses vertuz.
Adonques li Juif creront;
Tantost baptisier se feront,
Qui bien verront que notre foi
Seurmontera tout autre loi.
Partant les devons espargnier,
Entre nous soffrir et lessier.
[181 a] Ce sera a la remensure
Dont parole leur escreture.
Tuit cil de lors seront sauvé
Quant il seront crestienné,
Mes cil d'ore sont deceü
Qui leur escriz n'ont entendu.

III.

Besides the two versions already noticed, there is extant a third Old French poem on the Antichrist, contained in the MS. français 3645 (f° 4 *et seq.*) of the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal in Paris. It is a long-winded feeble production, constructed in loosely-strung sentences and

of absolutely no literary value. I will accordingly limit myself to the transcription of the introductory passage, which furnishes a few interesting particulars concerning the life of the author and the purpose he had in view.

Liber de Antecrist.

Ensi est feniz la proiere. [F° 4]
De(s) Hantecrist vos voil contere,
La see vite et coment(e)
Il regnoit enfra laient
Por ce que je say le françois
E que soy parler ançois
Franchois que nul autre langage,
Si me semble strange et sauvage
De ce que je apris en (en) France;
E tels qi en premier l'aprent
Ja n'y pora mais autrement
Parler ne autre lengue aprendre.
Por ce ne me doit nus reprendre
Qui m'oie dire en françois,
Que y apris parler anchois,
Tel chouse qe molt pora faire
Grant bien a ceus qi l'entendront,
E qi en memorie tendront,
L'istoire que j'ai en talent
A dire por Deu solement.
E por Deu me voil travaler
E de jor et de nuit veiler
Por mostrer a ceus qi seront,
Quant totes choses feniront,
Quant merveille devra venir, [V°]
Quand li mundes devra finir.
E sunt plus de set anz passé
Qe ay molt sotilment pansé
En vision de Daniel,
E ço q'en dit Eçochiel
E qe l'Apocalypse a dit.
Eysaie ai tot escrit.

E sai zo qu'en ont di li Greu
E li Latin e li [E-]breu;
E qe Sainz-Pol l'apostre a dit
Qi en ses epistres l'escrit,
De la fin del mund ensement,
Qi en dit moult oscurement.
E sai ce que Sibile en dit
En un livre qui est escrit
A Rome o je l'ai bien veü,
E si l'ai maintes fois leü.
Tuit traitent de la fin del mond;
Cascuns nos amaistre et semond
D'aspreter nos de sostenir
Les dolors qi devront venir,
Quant li mondes se finira.
E sacie(n)z qe mult en ira
Des Cristians a Antecrist
Qe refugerunt Jhesu Crist, etc.

The *explicit* in Latin shows that the composition in question was written, or at all events copied, by a monk of Verona, about the middle of the thirteenth century: *Explicit liber de Antecrist. atum* (*sic*) *est hoc* M°. CC. LJ, *die iovis festum sancti Thomei apostoli super carcere Polorum in contrata de Monteculis apud Veronam.*

In conclusion it should be mentioned that neither the composition of Geffroi de Paris nor that of the monk of Verona are translations of Adson's Latin treatise. Unlike d'Arci's poem, they appear to be original compositions, but original compositions clearly suggested by the Latin work.

L. E. KASTNER.

THE RELATION OF 'THE THRACIAN WONDER' TO GREENE'S 'MENAPHON.'

Dyce thought that *The Thracian Wonder* was 'partly founded' on Warner's doggerel narrative of Curan and Argentile (*Albion's England*, Bk. iv), of which Collier gives a grossly misleading account in his *Poetical Decameron*. Fleay, who, on insufficient evidence, assigns the play to Heywood and dates it circa 1617, says that the plot is drawn from William Webster's tract, which is elaborated from Warner's version. From Warner, we may suppose, Greene obtained the central idea of his *Menaphon*; and *The Thracian Wonder* is little more than a dramatic adaptation of Greene's pastoral romance. The chief incidents of the story are kept, and many passages are transferred almost without alteration from novel to play. A very few extracts, placed in juxtaposition, would serve to illustrate the nature of the borrowing. I give the most significant :

The Thracian Wonder. (Hazlitt's *Webster*.)	*Menaphon.* (Arber's *English Scholar's Library*.)
Love is a law, a discord of such force, That 'twixt our sense and reason makes divorce. (Spoken by Tityrus, Act i, Sc. ii.)	Love is a discord, and a strange divorce Betwixt our sense and reason.... (The author's own opinion, p. 89.)
Love 's a desire, that to obtain betime, We lose an age of years pluck'd from our prime. (*Ibid.*)	Love 's a desire, which for to waite a time, Dooth loose an age of yeeres, and so doth passe As dooth the shadow seuerd from his prime. (*Ibid.*)
They 're like the winds upon Lapanthae's shore, That still are changing. (*Ibid.* Concerning women.)	To be briefe, as vppon the shoares of *Lapanthe* the winds continue neuer one day in one quarter, so the thoughtes of a louer neuer continue scarce a minute in one passion. (Spoken by Menaphon, p. 25.)
A woman's love is like that Syrian flower, That buds and spreads and withers in an hour. (*Ibid.*)	...the trophees of my fortunes fell like the hearbes in *Syria*, that flourish in the morne, and fade before night. (Spoken by Melicertus, p. 43.)

Like to Diana in her summer's weed,
Going to sport by Arethusa's fount.
(Spoken by Palemon, Act I, Sc. ii.)

Like to *Diana* in her Summer weede
Girt with a crimson roabe of brightest die,
Goes faire *Samela.*
Whiter than be the flockes that straggling feede,
When washt by *Arethusa* faint they lie:
Is faire *Samela.*
(Sung by Doron, p. 41.)

Could I dissemble love, make tears my truceman,
Defile my faith with oaths that in the utterance
Make the hearers tremble.
(*Ibid.*)

Teares are his truce-men, words doo make him tremble.
(Sung by Menaphon, p. 78.)

I'll fetch Senessa from the down of swans
To be thy handmaid.
(*Ibid.*)

Hir necke like to an yuorie shining tower...
Or like the downe of Swannes where *Senesse* wonnes.
(*Ibid.* p. 77.)

I take delight to gaze upon the stars,
In which, methinks, I read philosophy;
And by the astronomical aspects
I search out nature's secrets; the chief means
For the preventing my lambs' prejudice.
I tell you sir, I find, in being a shepherd,
What many kings want in their royalties.
(Radagon to Tityrus, Act II, Sc. ii.)

Thou art a shepheard *Menaphon*, who in feeding of thy flockes, findest out natures secrecie, and in preuenting thy lambes preiudice conceiptest the Astronomicall motions of the heauens: holding thy sheep-walkes to yeeld as great Philosophie, as the Ancients discourse in their learned Academies...and by being a shepheard findest that which Kings want in their royalties.
(Soliloquy of Menaphon, p. 24.)

Content shall keep in town and field,
When Neptune from his waves shall yield
A Thracian wonder; and as when
It shall be prov'd 'mongst Thracian men,
That lambs have lions to their guides,
And seas have neither ebbs nor tides;
Then shall a shepherd from the plain
Restore your health and crown again.
(Oracle, Act II, Sc. iii.)

When *Neptune* riding on the Southerne seas
shall from the bosome of his Lemman yeeld
Th' *arcadian* wonder, men and Gods to please:
Plentie in pride shall march amidst the field,
Dead men shall warre, and vnborne babes shall frowne,
And with their fawchens hew their foemen downe.
When Lambes haue Lions for their surest guide,
and Planets rest vpon th' *arcadian* hills:
When swelling seas haue neither ebbe nor tide,
When equall bankes the Ocean margine fills.
Then looke *Arcadians* for a happie time,
And sweete content within your troubled Clyme.
(Oracle, p. 22.)

Comets portend at first blaze, but take effect
Within the bosom of the destinies;
So oracles at Delphos though foretold,
Are shap'd and finish'd in your council house.

(Spoken by Pheander, Act III, Sc. i.)

...that Comets did portend at the first blaze, but tooke effect in the dated bosome of the destinies; that oracles were foretold at the *Delphian* Caue, but were shapte out and finished in the Counsell house.

(Discourse of Democles, p. 22.)

I saw a face of such surpassing beauty,
That Jove and nature, should they both contend
To make a shape of their mix'd purity,
Could not invent a sky-born form so beautiful as she.

(Pheander, Act IV, Sc. i.)

Not *Ioue* or Nature should they both agree
To make a woman of the Firmament,
Of his mixt puritie could not inuent
A Skie borne forme so beautifull as she.

('Melicertus description of his mistres,' p. 52.)

The stars from earthly humours gain their light,
Our humours from their lights possess their powers.

(*Ibid.*)

The starres from earthly humors gaine their light.
Our humors by their light possesse their power.

('Melicertus Madrigale,' p. 55.)

There are many minor resemblances in actual language; and the correspondence of situation and characterisation is often striking. The scene has merely been shifted from Arcadia to Thrace. *Menaphon* ends very abruptly. Greene's characters appear to have so entangled their affairs that there is no easy and probable way out of the difficulty. The author impatiently introduces a 'prophetess' who benevolently blabs everybody's secrets. The dramatist of *The Thracian Wonder* felt the necessity of action and dramatic probability. There is a good deal of fighting in the latter part of his play, and the plot develops without intrusion of any other supernatural element than the working out of the oracle. But the main lines of the original story are kept.

For the sake of comparison, I give here a list of the principal characters of *The Thracian Wonder* side by side with their prototypes:

The Thracian Wonder.	*Menaphon.*
Pheander, King of Thrace.	Democles, King of Arcadia.
Alcade, King of Africa.	King of Thessaly.
Sophos.	Lamedon.
Radagon, *alias* Menalcas.	Maximius, *alias* Melicertus.
Eusanius.	Pleusidippus.
Ariadne, *alias* Mariana.	Sephestia, *alias* Samela.

Casual resemblances between the minor characters need hardly be noted.

An examination of the parallel passages quoted above will show that even when the actual words of the novel are conveyed, they are by no means invariably assigned to the correspondent characters and situations in the play. In fact, notable expressions are sometimes culled from widely separated passages in *Menaphon* and combined in a single speech. It is obvious from this familiar method of borrowing, no less than from the careless freedom with which the story is treated, that the playwright had a very intimate knowledge of the romance. He certainly did not sit down with the book before him deliberately to dramatise a work with which he had only the general reader's acquaintance. He trusted a memory stored with particular lines and images, and was careless whether the details of the plot were reproduced exactly or transformed. He shows precisely the kind of intimacy with his subject which we should expect from him if he himself had written *Menaphon*. He treats his material much as we might expect Greene to do if he were dramatising one of his own novels shortly after the date of its composition. *Menaphon* was issued in 1589: let us provisionally date *The Thracian Wonder* about 1590. The mention of 'old Menophon' in the second scene of Act IV is a distinct reference to the source of the plot, but I fear it cannot be induced to shed any light on the questions of authorship or date. But in Act V, scene ii, there is what may be taken as a reference to another of Greene's works:

> *Pal.* Nay, fly me not, my fair Angelica.
> *Clown.* Put up thy bilbo then, my mad Orlando.

Such explicit reminiscence on the part of the clown was hardly needed to draw attention to the close family resemblance of Palemon in his madness and the unconvincing lunatic lover of *Orlando Furioso*. There is doubt as to the actual date of production of Greene's plays, for none of them was printed until after his death. But *Orlando Furioso* was probably written in 1590 or 1591. It is possible, though not at all likely, that the sketch of Palemon preceded the more elaborate portrait of Orlando; and the reference in *The Thracian Wonder* may, in that case, be taken as an indication that Greene's mind was already dwelling on Ariosto's work. *A Looking Glasse for London*, in which Lodge collaborated with Greene, came out about 1590. It contains a character, Radagon, whose name is identical with that of one of the chief personages in *The Thracian Wonder*. In style the latter play seems to belong to the earliest and poorest group of Greene's dramatic works. It may have undergone some corruption,

revision and alteration before its publication in 1661, but the variations in the verse are such as we might expect from Greene, and there are some peculiarities—such as the use of 'gracious' as a trisyllable (='g'racious')—which certainly favour the theory of a sixteenth century origin.

There is one allusion in *Menaphon* which I believe nobody has explained. What is the meaning of 'the downe of Swannes where *Senesse* wonnes'? I was inclined to believe that 'Senesse' might be an invented term for 'old age.' But capitalization and change of type signify allusion to a definite personage; and the comparative freedom from misprints is fair evidence that Greene overlooked his own proof-sheets. In *The Thracian Wonder*, 'Senesse' becomes 'Senessa,' and her personality and sex are confirmed. If 'Senesse' is 'old age,' Greene was not the author of *The Thracian Wonder*: but if, as is probable enough, 'Senessa' is the name of a lady celebrated in sixteenth century Italian romance or elsewhere, the question of authorship is still an open one.

J. Le Gay Brereton.

IN DEFENCE OF 'PEARL.'

In the *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, Vol. XIX (1904), Professor Schofield subjects the poem of *Pearl* to certain observations which he himself commends to the public as 'heterodox,' but which seem to me to lack the solid foundation which alone can give any value to heterodoxy. His main thesis is, in his own words, 'that *The Pearl* is not in the least elegiac or autobiographical, as hitherto regularly regarded by scholars and critics.' It would be impossible here to deal fully with his sixty pages of arguments and quotations, and to show in detail how little each bears upon the real point; but I must, in defence of this beautiful poem, draw attention to the inconclusiveness of Professor Schofield's main arguments, even where they do not positively tell against his own thesis.

Starting from the premiss that 'Dr Brown has given good reasons for the belief that the author of *The Pearl* was an ecclesiastic,' Professor Schofield draws the extraordinary deduction that 'an English ecclesiastic in the fourteenth century could not possibly have had any but an illegitimate child.' The premiss is indeed extremely probable: though even here it is necessary to face the fact that Dr Brown's arguments would also prove—if we had not happened to know the contrary—that Sir Thomas More was an ecclesiastic. Still the ecclesiastic status of the author of *Pearl* is perhaps the point which stands out with the nearest approach to certainty among all our uncertainties about him; and Professor Schofield is therefore justified in building upon so likely a hypothesis. But his own superstructure has two fatal flaws at its very base. Firstly, the author—like Pope Clement IV before him—might well have had wife and children as a layman, and taken orders only after his spouse's death. Secondly, although Professor Schofield is right in surmising that some orders were a bar to matrimony, yet he ought to have known that there was a vast host of ecclesiastics in lower orders, who not only might,

but commonly did marry. Bishops might, indeed, prefer to have only celibate clergy in their service, and require—as we find in their registers—a certificate to that effect before engaging a clerk; but the very existence of such certificates is a plain proof of the prevalence of marriage among the lower clergy. It is strange that a student of *Piers Plowman*, as Professor Schofield evidently is, should have failed to realise a state of things which there stares us in the face, whether we accept or reject the autobiographical character of that poem.

Nor are his purely literary arguments more conclusive. There is, he contends, no hint of relationship between Pearl and the author, 'except one bewildering remark ... "Ho wacz me nerre then aunte or nece."' Yet it is sufficiently evident that the author here describes the girl as 'nearer to me than aunt or niece,' for the same reason which makes him assure us two lines higher up that 'there was no gladder man between here and Greece'—it suited his rhyme. 'The Poet,' pursues Professor Schofield, 'tells us nothing whatever of the living child'; he ought at least to 'have indicated some feature of her personal appearance.' This is not correct; he tells us the colour of her hair, which, I believe, is a more definite feature of personal portraiture than any which Dante gives of Beatrice in his far more lengthy *Commedia*. This, however, is quite lost on our critic, who has already concluded that 'The Pearl is, in truth, merely an allegorical figure, a being simply and purely of the poet's imagination.' It only remains for him, therefore, to ask 'what does she symbolize?' Here he turns abruptly from paradox to platitude, explaining at some length that 'medieval poets regularly utilized gems to betoken abstract qualities and conditions': 'the lapidaries emphasized the fact that the pearl was found alone and was singularly white and clean': therefore our Pearl here is an abstraction of 'pure maidenhood.' Yet even on this plainer ground he is often singularly inconclusive. Quoting the pearls of *Paradiso*, xxii, 23 ff., he is obliged to admit that 'they have no special character,' i.e., that they do not specially denote virgins—still less, virginity—but contemplative souls. Benvenuto da Imola, though he comments on Dante's use of the word 'pearls' in this context, has nothing to say about any symbolism of chastity; and in Dante's Heaven of the Moon, which was one transcendent pearl, the poet places precisely those spirits who had, however unwillingly, lost their maidenhood. Professor Schofield then gives us seven more pages of quotations, which show, indeed, that maidens were often compared,

naturally enough, with pearls, but which all refer to actual maidens who had (or were believed to have) lived in flesh and blood. From this he infers a totally different thing, for which he has advanced no direct proof, viz., that 'the poet...intended the Pearl to signify...a symbol of clean *maidenhood*.' And for the incredulous, who may desire further proof of a point which as yet has not been proved at all, he clinches the matter by a quotation from Thomas Usk: 'Margarite, a woman [i.e. a woman's name] betokening grace, learning or wisdom of God, or also Holy Church.' In this he finds 'still other, though closely allied, allegorical teaching' in support of his theory that in our present poem Margarite is *not* a woman's name, and betokens, *not* 'grace' or 'wisdom' or 'Holy Church,' but 'clean maidenhood'! After which come twenty-eight pages of no less inconclusive quotations from medieval allegorical poets, by which it would be equally possible to prove that neither Chaucer's *Death of Blanche the Duchess*, nor Dante's *Inferno*, deal with actual people who once wore mortal flesh.

But I have omitted, in my attempt to show the ineffectual character of this mass of quotations, one real tangible point—as tangible as that denial of ecclesiastical marriage from which Professor Schofield's argument sets out. 'The first thing that strikes us forcibly is that she [the Pearl] does not demean herself as a babe of two years[1].' This may very readily be granted: indeed, it would be difficult to name any book, medieval or modern, that fulfils his requirements in this particular. Pearl's behaviour in heaven can scarcely be more inconsistent with her earthly life than Beatrice's is; but the objection throws a flood of light on Professor Schofield's mental attitude, and explains much that would otherwise seem inexplicably perverse in his learned article. For, indeed, it is difficult to realize how anyone who has read *Pearl* with the care which he has evidently bestowed upon it, could persuade himself that the subject is merely an abstract virtue which never existed in the flesh.

The author repeatedly speaks of his Pearl not merely as lost to him—which would, of course, be conceivable enough of maidenhood—but as lost through her own death and decay. He cannot bear to think of 'her colour [i.e. beauty] clad in clay' (l. 22)[2]; he grieves

[1] Professor Schofield here makes a slip: l. 483 tells us that she was *not yet* two years old.

[2] I quote the lines from the E. E. T. S. Edition (*Early English Alliterative Poems*).

that 'mould' should 'mar' her (23) after she had slipped from him 'through the grass into the ground' (9). Sweet flowers, he says, naturally grew from a spot 'where such riches to rot is runnen' (25). Later on, Pearl distinctly names herself among those who are now blest in Heaven 'although our corses in clottes clynge' (857), and although 'our flesh be laid to rot' (958). If the author gave us no more evidence than this, we should still feel that 'the common assumption that the poem was an elegiac one' deserved something more than the patronizing compassion with which Professor Schofield speaks of it. But there is plenty more—evidence overwhelming in its variety. If Pearl were simply 'maidenhood,' how could the author's lost maidenhood now be safe in heaven (257 ff.)? Why should he be rebuked for his selfishness in mourning her loss (264 ff.)? How could his maidenhood have been doomed, by the laws of nature, to flower and fade like a rose (269)? Stanzas 38 and 39, again (373 ff.), can only apply to a beatified soul; spoken of an abstract virtue, they make sheer nonsense. So also l. 485, describing how Pearl died 'before she knew her Pater or Creed'; 483, telling us that she died before she was two years old; 493 ff., describing her as receiving her full reward in heaven though she wrought but one short hour in the earthly vineyard; 641 ff., where she reckons herself among those who were damned through Eve's sin, were it not for Christ, whose blood and baptism had redeemed them from hell and 'Death the second' (cf. 807 ff.). Finally, how could it assuage the author's grief for lost maidenhood to learn that it was 'decked in garlands gay' in heaven? When we feel doubt of the evidence of our senses, we pinch ourselves to make sure that we are awake; so, when our imagination staggers at the gulf which seems here to yawn between what the author actually wrote and what his critic imagines him to have written, we may look back to Professor Schofield's complaint that Pearl is too intelligent for a child of two, and to his fixed conviction that no honest medieval ecclesiastic could have written a poem about his own child. Without these two reminders, even the most passionate craving for 'heterodoxy' would be insufficient to explain his attitude.

But his Appendix shows still more clearly how completely he has been hypnotized by these initial misconceptions. It is beside the point that he seems to exaggerate beyond all reason the author's debt to Boccaccio; though the more carefully we compare the two, the more possible it seems that the similarities may be mere coincidences.

The point is that the similarity of the two poems, such as it is, tells not *for*, but definitely *against* his 'symbol' theory. Boccaccio's elegy, as even our critic is constrained to admit, does, in fact, deal with his actual dead daughter Violante, and with no mere symbol of a virtue. Again, Boccaccio definitely describes the unexpected maturity of those spirits, whose bodies had died so immature. Thirdly, just as Pearl (to Professor Schofield's bewilderment) lectures her father on theology; just as Beatrice (as he might well have remembered) lectures the learned Dante; just so does Violante lecture her scarcely less learned father. If Professor Schofield hopes to convert the majority to his theory of Pearl's unreality, he must begin by proving the unreality of this Violante, who is perverse enough to do precisely those things which, for the sake of his argument, no spirit that ever wore earthly flesh had a right to do.

In short, I cannot help thinking that the demonstrably false conception of medieval life from which Professor Schofield starts supplies the key to his heterodoxy, and that our rude forefathers who took *Pearl* for an elegy have not erred after all. Given the central false idea, nothing is easier than to mass vague quotations in its support. In one-tenth of the same space, and with corresponding conservation of energy in the matter of quotations, the purely symbolic character of Milton's 'late espoused saint' might have been proved. Does not Milton himself hint plainly that this vision was pure of the taint which we know that his earthly wife had in fact contracted? With what obvious intention, too, he avoids calling her anywhere his wife, in plain English, or making her behave like a wife! For the vague word 'espoused' can convey no valid proof to a really critical mind. After all, as many of us know by experience, it is far easier to 'espouse' a cause, a theory, or a paradox, than a real live wife.

G. G. COULTON.

HOLYDAY'S 'SURVEY OF THE WORLD' AND THE 'DITTAMONDO.'

Fazio degli Uberti's *Dittamondo*—an imitation of Dante's greater poem—has had the rather unusual effect of itself exciting imitations. These imitations are noticed by Professor Renier, *Raccolta di opere inedite*, Vol. v: *Liriche di Fazio degli Uberti*, pp. 272 ff. of the 'Introduzione.' In the course of his notice Professor Renier mentions a statement quoted by Lancetti, on p. 116 of his *Memorie intorno ai poeti laureati*, to the effect that a translation of Fazio's work was printed at Oxford in 1661, but he adds a caution that this statement has not been verified[1]. The present writer made an attempt to decide the point by examining the works of Barten Holyday in the Bodleian Library; but no translation of the *Dittamondo* by this author has been discovered. There exists however an original poem bearing the date 1661, and its title *A Survey of the World in Ten Books* might well stand for a translation of the word *Dittamondo*. The contents of the poem are not in the nature of a translation of Fazio's work, as the quotations incorporated in this paper will sufficiently prove. The further and more interesting question now arises—Can Holyday's poem be considered, if not a translation, an imitation of the *Dittamondo*[2]?

[1] The passage in the text is as follows:—Che il poema ciò nonostante abbia avuto molta fama, ce lo attesta il numero considerevolissimo di codici che se ne trovano e i commenti che vennero scritto intorno adesso. Nel sec. xvii il *Dittamondo* fu tradotto in inglese. The note runs thus:—Lo afferma il Lancetti (*Memorie intorno ai poeti laureati*, p. 116) e dice che il traduttore fu Bartenio Holyday, e che la versione venne stampata in Oxford nel 1661. Io non potei verificare la cosa.

[2] Holyday's work includes a verse translation of Persius' *Satires*, published in 1616; and possibly a translation of Horace's *Odes* and *Epodes*, published in 1653. This latter is generally attributed to him, though Wood (*Athenae*) remarks 'This translation is so near that of Sir Thomas Hawkins, or that of Hawkins so near this, that whether of the two is the author remains to me as yet undiscovered.' A comedy of Holyday's, known as *τεχνογαμία, or the Marriages of the Arts* was acted before James I in 1621; and it is on record that the king was exceedingly bored by the performance, and with difficulty persuaded to sit it out. The *Survey of the World* was published in the last year of Holyday's life, and is his only other original work if we except sermons and pamphlets. (See the *Dictionary of National Biography*.)

In the absence of any direct allusion to the *Dittamondo* in Holyday's writings, or, so far as has yet been ascertained, to his intentions, in the work of his contemporaries, we must depend upon internal evidence alone.

The style and form of the English poem differ from the Italian. Fazio's is divided into six books, containing an irregular number of divisions; Holyday's into ten, each containing exactly one hundred couplets. Holyday's is much less voluminous. He has exchanged the *terza rima*, so difficult to manipulate in English, for the decasyllabic couplet.

The classification of subjects in the two authors also offers a contrast. Fazio's geographical areas, treated as a basis for history and myth, are replaced in Holyday by a division of subjects into classes. These are classes of Created Things (Books I and II); of Nations and Languages (Books III and IV); followed by types of Occupations of the Human Race (Books V to X inclusive).

Holyday represents himself as turning back in the course of his ascent to the heights of learning to gather up in one glance the salient points of the landscape over which he has travelled[1]: he does not attempt, as does Fazio, to make the view complete; and he performs the task alone, discarding the fable of the guide. But both authors quote as their warrant for what they include in their recital the testimony and experience of men of worth. Evidence of some kind has been adduced for their statements. So Fazio (Book I, c. 1) proposes as the subject of his poem all human experience for which evidence can be obtained; Holyday treats the world as the 'Theater of Providence'—'in somethings strange, in All warrantable, by testimony of Men famous among heathens and Christians' (Dedication).

This Dedication conveys incidentally a hint of the relation of Holyday's slighter verse to a fuller compendium of knowledge. It would not be difficult to fancy in this comparison some allusion to the *Dittamondo*.

'And as they were a Summer's recreations of my Age, cast thus into the Fashion of ancient Memorials; so I intend them not as a Laborious Summe of knowledge: but only, as in the Liberty and Pleasure of a Garden, as some more pleasing flowers cropp'd for the complement and Enchiridion of a Posy, which by the novelty may last a Day, and by the Art of Friendship may, as Friendship should, outlast the vanity of the Flower.'

[1] Dedication, 'To the Studious Reader.'

A second Dedication, 'To the Studious Reader,' contains what may perhaps be considered as accessory testimony to the theory of Holyday's knowledge of Fazio's poem.

> As weary travelour that climbes a Hill,
> Lookes back, sitts down, and oft, if hand have skill,
> Landskippes the Vale with pencil; placing here
> Medow, there Arable, here Forest, there
> A grove, a City, or a Silver-streame,
> As offring to yield beauty to his Scheme;
> Then decks it for the Gallery and Views
> If th' Eye and Phansy count it Pleasing News:
> So now my Thoughts and Hopes, that long have clim'd
> Learning's Ascent, by which True Art's sublimed,
> Turne, Rest, and their owne wand'rings view. Here Light
> They see, by which they see; there deepest Night,
> The World's New *Chaos*; here a tinselled Sky,
> That does with beauty please and pose the Eye;
> There Earth, Beast, Fowle, Mystical Man, whose braine,
> A lesse World, would the greater world containe,
> These if by Nature's Herald, Art, well-placed,
> Present Nature and Art by Union grac'd.
> To view which, no new *Alpes* wee need, whose height
> Shows *Europe's* dress, which thence may Please or Fright!
> Wee need no *Ararat* to show *Asian* glory,
> Itself having Ark'd up rich *Asia's* story.
> No *Atlas* need wee, *Africa's* proud eye,
> The Mysteries of its Deserts to discry.
> The New world's *Andes* wee can wisely spare;
> The prospect there, but not quick death, is rare.
> Wee need no *Tenariffa*, which does shoote
> So high, my eye I'de lend it nor my foot.
> No cunning mountaine need wee, whence the Devil
> Would show the whole world's Glory, not the Evil;
> Fear'd hee't would spoile his Bribe? But here below
> From Art, not Mountains, Truth enough wee show.
> If then thy Eye venters to be so kind
> Some [?Come] view the Long view of a searching Mind.

Fazio, with every change of subject, carries his reader to a mountain, whence with the aid of Solino he takes a general view of the country or continent it overlooks, and from which he starts on his more distant journeying, or Solino on his more discursive speeches. Fazio's chosen mountains include Parnassus and Olympus, also Mount Sion, Mount Sinai, and the Mount of Olives, but if we leave aside the classical peaks and those of purely Scriptural interest, the heights mentioned by Holyday are substantially the more important of those chosen by Fazio. It would be no very strange coincidence that the Alps (*Dittamondo*, IV, c. 20), Mount Atlas (*Dittamondo*, V, c. 5), and Ararat (*Dittamondo*, VII, c. 9), should be mentioned by both writers, but Holyday also includes 'Tenariffa,' and this may be in allusion to *Dittamondo*, IV, c. 27, where

the legends about the Fortunate Isles are repeated. He adds the Andes, unknown to Fazio, as 'the New world's *Andes*.'

Another point of interest in this second Dedication is that it marks out Holyday's purpose. He intends to point at and to scourge evil, not to describe the world with the facile pen of the geographer who gathers in a list or compendium a 'summe of Knowledge' without necessarily approving the good or stigmatising the evil as such. If Fazio was a learned retailer of history and myth reduced to the same level of credibility, and of actions considered simply as events in the game of life; if his value to us is chiefly that grains of legend lie embedded in the formal or indifferent matter of his relation, Holyday, on the contrary, owes his claim to our consideration to his strong partisan attitude. He tilts for monarchy against democracy, for orthodoxy against heresy, for good against evil, and his feeling occasionally warms the stubborn epigram and acute phrase into something human and alive. Much of what he has to say would fall to the ground except that here and there a strong desire for loyalty or justice has winged his words. It was not perhaps without justification that his epilogue and final prayer ran thus:

999

A Thousand Beauties Soloman injoi'd;
Some will bee with these Thousand Thoughts Imploy'd.

1000

Father of Gifts, who to the Dust didst give
Life, say to these my Meditations, *Live*.

From these general considerations we now pass to an examination of the ten books of the *Survey*. Certain likenesses to, and differences from, the *Dittamondo* will come out in the detail of the poem.

In Book I ('Of Inanimate Creatures') Holyday accepts the theory of the Heavens held by Fazio (*Dittamondo*, v, c. 1), by which they consist of spheres one within another, the outermost being the Empyrean. This—a commonplace of science in the time of Dante—remained a commonplace of poetry when science outgrew its early bonds. But Holyday grafts on to the original idea the symbolism of ascent to the throne of God, and he attempts to give a Christian interpretation to the pagan significance of planetary names. The spheres are among the 'Inanimate Creatures' of God.

2

The World's a Prison: no man can get out:
Let th' Atheist storme then: 'tis Heav'n round about.

10

Though many Heavens wee thinke there are below
The Hight: to this by Those faire steppes wee goe.

12

The starry Heav'n, which Divine power so paints
In figure shews th' Assembly of the Saints.

13

Saturne, next the fix'd starres, wise death may preach:
Thoughts must be sober that think Heav'n to reach.

14

Jove was in fiction Joy; but in the Skie
'Tis the next step to Saturne's gravitie.

Rarely, but occasionally, he rises to something beyond mere enumeration or epigram.

43

The world 's a picture: Light at first was hurl'd
Upon 't.—Is it God's shadow in the world?

In Book II ('Of Living Creatures') Holyday, like Fazio, makes mention of stories and superstitions referring to animals; though in the case of Fazio mythical animals as well as mythical stories are admitted. Instead of Fazio's basilisk and gold-collecting ant, and the ancient literary traditions which attach to these creatures, we have in Holyday remnants of other superstitions, equally derived from mediæval sources, but applying to objects of ordinary experience.

131

The dying Moale, say some, opens his eyes,
The Rich, till 'tis too late will not be wise.

152

The Eagle to the Sunne presents his yong;
Is 't bold? Hee owns 't; does 't Turne? Away 'tis flung.

No opportunity is lost of pointing a moral. Man's shape is like that of an Ape, to teach him humility. We are urged to enjoy the voice of the cock and the goose because of the historical warnings they delivered.

166

Geese saved Romes capital; the Cocke St. Peter;
To a wise mind his Musique 's sure the sweeter.

And again, as in the First Book, two couplets of greater simplicity and force somewhat redeem the pedantry of the section.

153

Mount, O my soule, and to Thy Maker bring
Thy loftiest thoughts, his Gift, with soaring wing.

154

Descend, my soule, sometimes, but to repaire
Strength for New Flight into Discovering Aire.

In the section 'Of Nations' (Book III) Holyday enlarges upon the conspicuous responsibility of England to the world, while Fazio had dwelt on the historical relation of Italy to ancient Rome. In Holyday's eyes Rome means the Vatican, England is the centre of the world, Christianity the pivot of history and its test. He seems to have an adequate appreciation of the great nation-making period through which Europe was just passing; and at the same time bestows many a sharp gibe on the weaknesses of individual nations.

205

They erre, who Rome's Hills by the Old names call;
The *Vatican* is now the *Capitol.*

212

Britans, yee are stout men, bee also wise;
They'd need be so, on whom are all men's eyes.

214

Bogges, Purgatory, Wolves, and Ease, by Fame
Are counted Irland's Earth, Mistake, Curse, Shame.

205

Is the French, wine of Orleans? Flame, wounds, scarres?
Dates hee the Chronicle by Civil Warres?

294

The Old world still did see New Generations
Of Men, but Our World does behold New Nations.

295

New Spaine, France, England, now rise in the West;
In our Sunne-set they Rise, if they prove best.

There is also a sufficiently pointed allusion to the loss sustained by England in Raleigh's death—a loss gold could not redeem.

292

We sought Guiana Gold out at the Line,
We lost a Raleigh; a farre richer Mine.

The triumph of Christianity is again sounded:—

259

Carthage and *Rom* did once each other feare
But *Austin's Hippo* conquered both; 'tis Cleare.

235

Old Salem Longer was then broad; though Faire;
But New Jerusalem 's a perfect square.

Book IV ('Of Languages and Art') shows that Holyday was acquainted with the subjects of Italian Literature and also with some Latin authors familiar to Dante, e.g. Statius and Lucretius. He implies, too, an appreciation of the two languages:—

323

The West Tongues to the Latin are but sleight:
They are but oblique cases from the Right.

324

The slipp'ry *French* and Mouth-roofed *Spanish* know
No mean: The *Italian* does more wisely flow.

342

Statius, his Witt and Language is so brave,
Hee 's in his Witts, and yet may seeme to Rave.

350

Lucretius, Nature's favourite, excels;
If All 's Truth; or, if not Too much hee tells.

354

Heav'n, Purgatory, Hell, were Dante's Three Themes,
Two were wise Melancholy, yet extremes.

355

What Petrarch lost, hee kept: His Laura dies
He lost his Love, not Wit, his Wit was wise.

This section also includes some curious couplets on the subject of number, first as necessary to a knowledge of the Trinity and then as important to the study of the Book of Numbers.

357

Without Arithmetique we can 't know God;
Wee must distinguish between Ev'n and Odd.

358

Needs must we know what is One, Two, and Three;
How know wee else, what is a Trinity?

364

Who takes the *Book of Numbers* in his hand,
Without Arithmetique can he understand?

There is also an allusion to Galileo:—

389

Copernicus does erre with great pretence
Of Art, but *Galilaeus* erres by sense.

This reference may be compared with that in Holyday's Play *The Marriage of the Arts*, where Magus exclaims—

But here 's one Galilaeus, an exquisite
Mathematicean, an Italian.

In Book v ('Of Philosophers and Historians') Holyday passes in review, as in other sections of his work, all History, sacred and profane, marking out the sacred text as of higher evidential value than lay tradition, and prefacing the whole by some trenchant words on Doubt and Faith.

415

Some thought *No Knowledge* Man could have at all,
How *know they* then, what they did Ignorance call?

458

Moses is Text, *Josephus* is Tradition;
Him our Faith reads: this read wee with suspicion.

490

I wish, *Eusebius*, when on thee I look
Thou hadst been the Best Christian in thy book.

The conjunction of an earlier proverbial philosopher—not Martin Tupper (born 1810)—with others is quaint, and the couplet is unsurpassed in its harsh monotony.

449

For Farmer's Life Quaint Tupper all containes:
The Wains, the Chains, the Swains, the Pains, the Gaines.

Tacitus' method and penetration are remarked:—

479

What Lucke thy Witt had, Tacitus, to marke
Rare Secrets? hadst thou Catt's eyes in the Darke?

481

Sueton his Method does from Rhet'rique take;
Tacitus keepes the Order time does make.

In Book vi ('Of Physicians') a survey of the history of Medicine is attempted. Hippocrates, Galen, Avicen, and other writers of later date are mentioned:—

501

Hippocrates and *Galen* are renown'd,
Though Health 's a riddle nowhere to be found

521

Avicen writes of *Cordials*; with the rest
Yet numbers not Himself, though farre the best.

581

Some the Anatomy of the Living write:
Let th' Eye to its owne conscience cast its sight.

582

Has ev'ry sore a Salve? *Erastus* then,
Not *Paracelsus*, proves the Man of Men!

In Book VII ('Of Lawiers') Holyday considers Law in the abstract as an inferior moral incentive to right action. Human laws are mutable: the Divine are immutable. Law is a condition necessitated by evil; thus law exists among evil spirits.

604

Nature, although Corrupt, will have some *Law*
To Scape wrong, wee'll doe Right; Danger does awe.

607

The Dev'lls, that raise all strife, strife yet doe quell
Amongst themselves: A Law there is in Hell.

614

Fraile are Mans laws: *Israel's* Laws are sure:
And only by God's will Change or Indure.

For the law-makers and theorists Holyday has great admiration; but none for the practitioners.

638

Law includes Powr and Wisdom, These wee find,
To have their Empire in *Justinian's* mind.

683

Calvin's an Honest Lexicon: who feares
To bee phrase-jugled? Evry word Hee cleares.

698

What is English Law's Hope after clear *Brooke*,
Deep *Plowden*, Quick-brain'd *Dyer*, learned *Cooke*?

699

Beware the Sharke, if in Law's Sea wee fall,
A Limbe is lost. If Lost wee are not all.

In Book VIII ('Of Kings and other Worthies') Holyday traces the institution of royalty from the days of Nimrod to the execution of

Charles I. The contemplation of Nimrod's Tower and the Pyramids leads him to contrast the lasting effects of sin and virtue with the perishable quality of the mightiest human effort.

705

Why did the *Pharaohs* raise such massy Tombes?
Fear'd they to come unto their Heavier Doomes?

706

Tremble, fond Pyramids! the last Thunder can
Startle your guilty Mumy into Man!

708

Though Nimrod's Tow'r and Pride th' Aegyptians led,
Hee for the living built—they for the dead.

Scripture History supplies him with many a pregnant example of greatness and weakness.

712

Envious and bloody *Saul*! Nothing could winne him,
From his Fierce will: His worst Witch was within him.

714

Solomon's fame did from his Wisdome rise;
His Wisdome, nay His Folly, makes Us Wise.

749

Herod, though Foxe, more Crafty was then Wise;
Hee's Foole, that acts crimes before Publique eyes.

Columbus is included among the Worthies:—

782

Columbus was by his brave spirit so hurl'd
Hee seemed the Sea-Apostle of the World.

The character of Henry VIII is treated with a moderation that is insipid. Elizabeth obtains a meed of praise. The executioners of Charles I are considered to be guilty of the monstrous deed of severing the Head from the Body Politic.

793

The Body strikes off its owne Head! Strange deed!
The Head cut off, the Body too Must bleed.

In Book IX ('Of Politicians') the word is taken in the sense familiar to us in Shakespearian language. The politician is contrasted with the sincere man, and his fall is desired and commended. Holyday ranges over sacred and profane history, finding examples in Potiphar's wife, Michal, Bathsheba, Jugurtha, Gregory VII, Machiavelli.

814

Michal helps David's flight, faigning him fainte,
Choise wit that makes an Image save a Saint?

843

Gregory the Seav'nth many a Pope had made,
At last hee became free of the same trade.

856

Machiavelli's working mind stories compacts
Into new Rules: Bold judge of Sacred Acts!

To Gondomar is accorded a word of respect for his intentions: to William I Holyday attributes nothing but low personal motives.

873

'Twas *Gondomar's* great Aime, nor did hee cease
In Project, to combine all Christian's peace.

884

William the First, whom Pride, Craft, Profit sway'd,
Did *England*, but his Conscience first, invade.

Raleigh's inclination to political dealing produces a regretful couplet.

897

Raleigh, had thy brave spirit been judg'd sincere
As thy wil Sharpe, th'hadst scap'd both Axe and Fear.

Among Divines, Book x ('Of Divines'), Holyday includes Philo, but severely blames Eusebius and others for their Arian tendencies.

901

All things are Wonder, since the World began;
The World's a Riddle, and the Meaning's Man.

920

The third Heav'n was beheld by silent Paul:
Saint Denis saw it not; yet would tell All.

940

'Twas Pitty Arius did Eusebius taint
Taking the Sonne of God but for a Saint.

946

Grave, wise, sweet Basil, free from fond desires,
Was his Owne Monast'ry, his Thoughts the Friers.

976

In Britaine first, *Pelagius*, saws't the Sky?
Wee'll pray toe, that in Britaine thou maist die.

The book concludes with a statement of Holyday's conception of the Doctrine of the Trinity, and the commendatory couplets which have already been quoted.

As will have been seen, the examination of Holyday's work after Fazio's necessitates a complete re-adjustment of mental attitude. Holyday may very possibly have owed something to Fazio, and have intended allusions to the *Dittamondo* in his two Dedications. But his imitation, if we can so call it, is of a very general order, and the idea which he may have gained from Fazio is made to serve widely different moral uses.

E. F. Jourdain.

LESSING AND FARQUHAR.

In that extraordinary monument of misplaced zeal, the six volumes of Albrecht's *Leszings Plagiate*[1]—a work which reads like a satire on source-investigation—the indebtedness or supposed indebtedness of Lessing's *Minna von Barnhelm* to George Farquhar is dwelt upon in a considerable number of parallel passages. Not only Albrecht, however,—whom it is not surprising to find incapable of seeing the wood for the trees—but all who have hitherto occupied themselves with Lessing's sources[2], have overlooked some very essential points in the German dramatist's relations to his English predecessor. These I propose to discuss in the present note.

The estimation of Farquhar's influence on Lessing resolves itself into the question: To what extent had Lessing Farquhar's dramas in view when he planned and wrote *Minna von Barnhelm*? As far as I am aware, the name Farquhar does not occur once in Lessing's printed writings, and in a familiar passage in the 'Vorrede' to the *Beyträge zur Historie und Aufnahme des Theaters*—'Shakespear, Dryden, Wicherley, Vanbrugh, Cibber, Congreve sind Dichter, die man fast bey uns nur dem Namen nach kennet, und gleichwohl verdienen sie unsere Hochachtung sowohl als die gepriesenen französischen Dichter'—one is surprised not to find it. But that was written fourteen years before *Minna von Barnhelm* was thought of. Once, it is true, Lessing all but mentions Farquhar's name in a letter to his brother Karl (July 6, 1769); the latter had published some comedies, one of which, *Der Wildfang*, was an adaptation from Farquhar, and his elder brother

[1] P. Albrecht, *Leszings Plagiate*, 6 vols. Hamburg, 1891–4.

[2] K. Elze seems to have been the first to draw attention (in the *Beilage zur allgemeinen Zeitung*, July 4, 1869; more accessible in his *Vermischte Blätter*, Köthen, 1875, pp. 93 ff.) to the general similarity between Colonel Standard in Farquhar's *Constant Couple* and Tellheim. E. Schmidt's mention of this in the first volume of his *Lessing*, 1 (Berlin, 1884), p. 481, led to a somewhat acrimonious retort on Elze's part in the *Akademische Blätter*, 1884, pp. 118 and 184. The second edition of Schmidt's work (1899) has nothing to add, and still more recent books on Lessing, such as G. Kettner, *Lessings Dramen im Lichte ihrer und unserer Zeit*, Berlin, 1904, regard the question of Lessing's indebtedness to the comedies of Farquhar as closed.

takes him in characteristic fashion to task: 'Du weisst, wie wenig davon Dein ist; und Du hast nicht wohl gethan, dass du Deine Quelle verschwiegen[1].'

That *Minna von Barnhelm* has been influenced by *The Constant Couple* is not to be questioned, but there has hitherto been a tendency to overestimate the extent of that influence[2]. Like Colonel Standard in Farquhar's comedy, Tellheim is a 'disbanded officer'; like him, he is honourable and generous; he refuses to take advantage of Minna's affections and wealth after he has been deprived of his commission (II, ii). An understanding is ultimately brought about by means of a ring, but not in a way that altogether precludes—as Otto Ludwig suggested[3]—a reminiscence in Lessing's mind of *The Merchant of Venice.* This, however, is virtually all that Lessing's comedy owes to *The Constant Couple*; as far as the finer characterisation is concerned, Tellheim is hardly more indebted to Farquhar's Colonel than Minna to the Lady Lurewell.

The German comedy was, as a matter of fact, more essentially influenced—in all those matters where foreign influence is legitimately to be looked for—by another of Farquhar's comedies, which, if we except a few immaterial hints in Albrecht's list of plagiarisms[4], has not yet been regarded as a possible source—*The Beaux' Stratagem.* The opening scene of the play is at an inn, where Boniface the innkeeper, is clearly the prototype of Lessing's Wirt[5]. He evinces the same love of gossip, and curiosity concerning the private affairs of his guests; he is sententious and addicted to humorous 'tags'; he praises his ale as the landlord of the 'König von Spanien' praises his 'Danziger'; and in the five hundred talers which the Wirt discovers in Tellheim's desk, a reminiscence may be traced of the scene in Farquhar where Aimless entrusts his money to the landlord's safe custody.

[1] Lachmann-Muncker, XVII, p. 293 f.; Redlich, I, p. 325. Karl Lessing's comedy I have not seen; its source would appear to be *The Inconstant* (E. Wolff, *K. G. Lessing*, Berlin, 1886, p. 49).

[2] For instance, D. Schmid, *G. Farquhar*, Vienna, 1904, pp. 88 ff.

[3] *Über ältere und neuere Dramen* (O. Ludwig's Werke, hrsg. von A. Bartels, VI, p. 200).

[4] Albrecht, 1501, 1589, 1815. The only item that has possible weight is the first, the name 'King of Spain.' There is also, it may be noted, a reference to a 'King of Spain' in *The Constant Couple.* It is remarkable that Albrecht should have overlooked Lessing's use of the name 'Martin' (*Minna*, III, ii) and the innkeeper's daughter on the last page of his first act, 'plagiarisms' which ought to have appealed to him!

[5] A comparison of the innkeepers in the English and continental drama of the time (Voltaire, Goldoni, Cibber etc.) corroborates the peculiarly English character of Lessing's Wirt, and illustrates at the same time Macaulay's remark (quoted by Schmid, *l. c.*, p. 310) that 'on the continent the landlord was the tyrant of those who crossed the threshold—in England he was a servant.'

Act II introduces—precisely as in *Minna*—the two principal female characters, Mrs Sullen and Dorinda, who, in spite of obvious differences in character and relationship, have much more of the refined grace and charm of Minna and Franziska than the Restoration heroine of *The Constant Couple* and *Sir Harry Wildair*. Gibbet the highwayman endeavours to worm Aimwell's secret out of his supposed valet Archer and is checkmated in precisely the same terms as in the scene where Minna's valet professes ignorance even of the name of his mistress (I, ix)—an episode which, by the way, is introduced by Lessing without any very obvious *raison d'être*. Although the gaming French refugee of *Sir Harry Wildair*—an obvious model for Riccaut de la Marlinière[1]—does not appear in *The Beaux' Stratagem*, his place is taken by a Count Bellair, who at least speaks broken English. Lastly, the dramatic knot is untied and the story rounded off as in *Minna*, by the arrival of a new personage, who is here the heroine's brother, not, as in the German play, her uncle. Obviously the influence—especially in the matter of dramatic *technique*—of *The Beaux' Stratagem* on *Minna von Barnhelm* has been much more vital than that of *The Constant Couple*.

These similarities and reminiscences are, however, only the smallest part of the matter; if there were nothing else, they might safely be neglected as belonging, like so much of Albrecht's compilation, to the trivialities of source-hunting. But there is another aspect of Lessing's relations to Farquhar, which is suggested by a comparative study of the comedy of his time. English historians of the drama are fairly unanimous in seeing in Farquhar what Hazlitt called the beginning of the decay of English comedy—a point of view which is natural enough when the subsequent history of the English drama is considered. The qualities which made the Restoration comedy great are admittedly decadent in Farquhar; but there are also elements in his work which were of more importance for the comedy of the eighteenth century than all the wit of the Restoration. It was, in fact, his supreme merit, in his ripest dramas, to have broken with the traditions of that period. Farquhar is the spokesman of a new life; of new social and personal ideals—not always less coarse than those depicted by Wycherley and Congreve—but less far removed from modern sympathies; his characters appear to us to-day more modern and refined, because they are inspired

[1] First pointed out by Elze, *l. c.* It is worth noting that in the earliest English translation of *Minna von Barnhelm*, that by Major Johnstone (1786), a 'Count Bellair' is substituted for Lessing's Riccaut.

by distinctly modern sentiments, which one looks for in vain beneath the wit and brilliancy of Congreve. He is an innovator because he led the drama back to nature; he broke with the convention that restricted comedy to St James's Park and the coffee-houses; he could draw gentlemen who were not merely fashionable rakes, and gentle ladies whose language did not always demand the mask; his soldiers and boors, his innkeepers and valets, his French refugees and Irishmen were real. In his military types he broke with the traditions of the 'miles gloriosus' which had dominated European comedy since the Renaissance, and he depicted, for the first time, the soldier as he was; he did not disdain the modern adjunct of local colour and local interests[1]. If the significance of these innovations is so often overlooked in English dramatic history, it is because the dramatists who were able to carry them out worthily, were too few and far removed in time to sustain the honour of the English stage in its subsequent history.

Now it is precisely such innovations which distinguish *Minna von Barnhelm* from the German comedy and the French comedy as adapted to the German stage of the earlier eighteenth century. Indeed, even if we are unwilling to go further, we must admit that the author of *Minna von Barnhelm* occupies a position in the history of the German drama analogous to that of Farquhar in England; but, knowing as we do, that Farquhar's comedies were familiar to Lessing, there seems no reason to deny his influence. Men of Lessing's type of mind do not, unaided and without stimulus from outside, produce works so revolutionary as *Miss Sara Sampson* and *Minna von Barnhelm* proved to be. The indebtedness of the former drama to *The Merchant of London* we know; and it seems to me none the less clear that Lessing owed to George Farquhar those elements in his ripest comedy which appeal to us to-day as national, humane, and modern; in other words, what Lillo was to *Miss Sara,* Farquhar was to *Minna von Barnhelm.*

J. G. ROBERTSON.

[1] Since the above was written Mr William Archer's edition of the *Best Plays of George Farquhar* has appeared, in the introduction to which a similar claim is made for Farquhar.

MISCELLANEOUS NOTES.

Provençal words in English.

When I contributed my note on Provençal words in English to the July number of the *Modern Language Review*, I hardly expected to be able to add many to the number. But I have already come upon two more.

The curious word *muckinder*, used by Ben Jonson and Beaumont and Fletcher in the sense of a pocket-handkerchief (see Nares), is certainly Provençal; and as certainly is not derived from *muck*, as Nares suggested, except in popular etymology. The right origin is given in the *Century Dictionary*, where it is duly stated to be a corrupt form of the Mid. Engl. *mokadour*, used in the same sense. See Lydgate's *Minor Poems*, ed. Halliwell, p. 30, where an old man is told that

> For eyen and nose the nedeth a *mokadour*
> Or sudary.

The suffix *-dour* is unmistakeable; it is the same as in *troubadour*. I have already noted *battledore*. The word *troubadour* has become *troubadou* (see Mistral) in modern Provençal; similarly we find the modern Provençal *moucadou* with the precise sense of the F. *mouchoir*. The Latin form is the accusative *mucatorem*, as if from a verb *mucare*, formed from *mucus*. Why this particular word should be of Provençal origin is not quite clear; but the English sailors may have learnt it, as they seem to have learnt *battledore*, from the washerwomen on the banks of the Gironde.

The other word which I have to mention is *colander* or *cullender*, which is certainly connected with the wine trade (as will appear) and with Provence. Of this word the *N. E. D.* says that 'the form of the Eng. word appears to be due to some perversion; but its exact history is obscure.' This is just the point which I hope to clear up.

The *n* before the *d* is intrusive, precisely like the *n* in *muckinder* above; we have a similar intrusive *n* in the case of *celandine*. The

word appears in the fifteenth century, viz. in the form *colyndore*; for Wright-Wülker's *Vocabulary* has the entry: '*Colatorium*, a Colyndore.' This is precisely the Old Prov. *colador*, mod. Prov. *couladou*, duly given by Mistral, one of its meanings being 'petit panier qui sert à filtrer le vin qu'on tire de la cuve'; which connects it with the wine trade at once. And of course it represents a Latin accusative *colatorem*, from *colare*, to filter. Considered from this point of view, all obscurity as to its origin disappears. The suffix is really the same in the four words, *battledore, troubadour, muckinder* and *cullender*.

Walter W. Skeat.

Notes and Corrections to Shelley's 'History of a Six Weeks' Tour' (1817).

The disregard of geographical precision and generally of all sublunary exactness has long been recognised as a characteristic feature of Romanticism—and it is a disturbing one for editors. The following notes, trifling improvements as they are, to one of Shelley's texts, may be acceptable to those who feel inclined to pursue, in the poet's steps, 'the inconstant summer of delight and beauty which invests this visible world' (Preface).

Mrs Shelley, in her edition of 1840 (*Essays, Letters from Abroad*), had started the work of emendation, and altered *Pontalier* (p. 130, in H. Buxton Forman's edition) to the correct *Pontarlier*. *Manheim* (p. 149), which she altered to *Mannheim*, was a usual form of the name in the early nineteenth century (cf. Tardieu's map, 1814). *Mellterie, Claren, Schillon*, which appear as the heading of a chapter in the original edition, were already recognisable in the chapter itself as *Mellerie, Clarens* and *Chillon* (p. 171). The correct *Meillerie* was introduced by Mrs Shelley in 1840. But the *glacier de Boisson* did not become the well-known *glacier des Bossons* until her second edition in 1845.

And there the work of emendation stopped. Later editors have left the incorrect, though (to the critical eye) not 'hopelessly corrupt' names *Loffenburgh* (pp. 135 and 146) for *Lauffenburg* (Tardieu: but *Loffenburg* in Dezauche's map, An V, 1797), *Triel* and *Marsluys* (pp. 154 and 156) for *Thiel* (Tardieu, 1814; now *Tiel*) and *Maasluis*.

One passage is more puzzling. It refers to the journey from

Besançon to Pontarlier, by way of what both the *History* and the *Journal*, as quoted by Professor Dowden (I, p. 452), call *Mort* and *Noè*. There is no doubt that these should be *Morre* and *Nodz*. It seems as if, probably for its shortness and picturesqueness, the worse road had been chosen: not the one *viâ* Ornans, which was rather circuitous (cf. Dezauche, 1797; Cassini-Ferraris, 1808; G. B. Depping, *Voyage de Paris à Neuchâtel en Suisse*, 1813), but an old road (Cassini, 1744 and 1787), the gradient of which was not improved before the thirties; and this no doubt accounts for the unwillingness of the *voiturier*, of which we hear so much. The place called in Clara Clairmont's Journal, *l'Avrine* is found—not in contemporary maps, but in the present Carte d'État Major, and there spelled *la Vrine*—on the old road, and this points to the same conclusion.

Another point, though it affects only the *Journal* (as quoted by Prof. Dowden, I, p. 446), has a real psychological interest. The 'terribly impressive' picture of the Deluge, 'the only remarkable' picture which Shelley had time to observe in the Louvre Gallery, must have been Poussin's *Winter or Deluge* (1644). This is probably the most 'romantic' of the artist's works. And indeed, its stormy sky, its distant towers, lightning-struck, its blasted trees, its snake driven by the flood to the extreme summit of a rock—all these are motives which must have appealed to Shelley, and which might serve as illustrations for many a passage in his works.

The French phrases, which are still to be read in our editions of the *History*, are often startling. Mrs Shelley, with her later knowledge, was shocked by such things as *Madame l'Hote* (p. 129), *avelanche* (p. 142), *batalier* (p. 149), which she duly changed into *l'hôtesse*, *avalanche*, and *batelier*. Possibly she did not notice the curious imperfect '*craquee*'d his whip' (p. 124, a current hybrid of the time), nor the less defensible *c'est pour dédommager les chevaux d'avoir perdues* (sic) *leur douce* (sic) *sommeil* (p. 125). And she left these, together with the impossible joke, *C'est seulement un bateau, qui étoit seulement renversée* (sic) *et tous les peuples* (sic) *sont seulement noyés* (p. 150). But it is quite as well that we should have an idea of the sort of French which made dark-eyed, impulsive, sixteen-year old Jane Clairmont so useful to Shelley and his new love.

A. Koszul.

'A Headless Bear.'

Puck. Sometime a horse I'll be, sometime a hound,
A hog, *a headless bear*, sometime a fire;
And neigh, and bark, and grunt, and *roar*, and burn,
Like horse, hound, hog, bear, fire, at every turn.
(*Midsummer Night's Dream*, III, 1.)

At page 232 of Vol. I of this *Review* I offered a conjecture *leadless*, for the reading *headless*. I now find that *headless* is probably right after all. Burton, in the poetical abstract prefixed to his *Anatomy of Melancholy*, has the following lines:—

Methinks I hear, methinks I see
Ghosts, goblins, fiends; my phantasie
Presents a thousand ugly shapes,
Headless bears, black men, and apes,
Doleful outcries, and fearful sights,
My sad and dismall soule affrights.

It seems clear, therefore, that the 'headless bear' was a popular terror, and 'roared' when it appeared to children and others in those believing ages. The various emendations, mine included, go down before this quotation from Burton.

H. Littledale.

The Authorship of 'Titus Andronicus.'

The review of *Did Shakespeare write Titus Andronicus?* contributed by Mr W. W. Greg to the July number of the *Modern Language Review*, seems so fitted by its painstaking character to promote discussion of the problem in question, that I am fain to guard against two or three of its inferences which seem to me to obscure the issue.

1. Mr Greg, remarking that I 'may be a little deficient in purely literary feeling,' argues that certain lines from scene i of *Titus* were 'surely' not written by Greene 'unless he revised the work at the very end of his life'; this after observing that the 'poetical' passages of the play, 'where not contemptible, are easily within the reach' of Greene, 'even in his less mature years.' The implication is that I had ascribed them to Greene. The *Titus* lines in question are italicised by Mr Greg

to bring out 'instances of artistic use of words' such as occur, he thinks, only in *Friar Bacon* among Greene's plays:—

> Princes that strive *by factions and by friends*
> Ambitiously for rule and empery,
> Know that the people of Rome, for whom we stand
> *A special party*, have by common voice, etc.
>
> *There greet in silence*, as the dead are wont,
> And sleep in peace, slain in your country's wars!
> A sacred receptacle of my joys,
> *Sweet cell of virtue* and nobility, etc.
>
> Wilt thou draw near the nature of the Gods?
> Draw near them then in being merciful.

Whatever be the quality of my 'literary feeling,' it is not responsible for any suggestion that these lines are Greene's. Only after line 340 do I suggest the entrance of Greene's hand in this act, the great bulk of which seems to me to be clearly Peele's.

2. Mr Greg writes: 'Of course, if the play was written by Greene, who died in 1592, it must have been revised in 1594, since it then appears as new, and contains, moreover, lines from Peele's *Honour of the Garter* of the year before.' To begin with, no 'lines' are duplicated in the play and poem. Only certain phrases are, and one uncommon word. But those phrases may just as easily have been echoed from the play in the poem as *vice versa*. The proper test seems to be that of comparative relevance or naturalness. Now, the allusions to the palliament in the play are dramatically in keeping with the situation: in the poem they are distinctly less so.

3. I need hardly say I agree that 'Greene and Peele were perfectly able to make their lines scan if they chose to.' What made editorial correction necessary in printing was the constant tendency to error in the acting copies, shown in two printed editions out of three. In 1594, as Mr Greg notes, Greene was dead, and Peele was probably ill. But *Titus*, like *Locrine*, is unusually well edited.

It is because I do not at all 'take in bad part' the revision of my argument by other students that I put these comments on the review of my book by Mr Greg, to whom I am much indebted for his able survey.

JOHN M. ROBERTSON.

REVIEWS.

A History of English Prosody from the Twelfth Century to the Present Day. By GEORGE SAINTSBURY. Vol. I. From the Origins to Spenser. London: Macmillan and Co., 1906. 8vo. xvii + 428 pp.

It had so long been known that Professor Saintsbury contemplated a work upon English prosody that the appearance of the first volume was almost as much a matter for surprise as for congratulation, and it may be that hope deferred had led us to expect too much. It can only be for some such reason as this that now we have the book, we are a little disappointed, for be it said at once that, whatever complaints it may seem necessary to bring against it, it is, or should be when completed, by a long way the best general history of English prosody. But we expected more—we expected that in it something at least should be done toward the settlement of metrical theory; that some at least of those questions which have puzzled all who have ever attempted the subject should be dealt with, if they could not be finally solved: and of this there is nothing. Professor Saintsbury has been faced by the same difficulties as others—though perhaps he has not perceived quite all the difficulties—and instead of triumphantly vanquishing them, he calmly ignores them. A history of English metre which refuses to investigate what really makes that metre, and which tries to evade doing so by the expedient of stringing together terms of different meaning and leaving the student to take his choice among them, can hardly expect to leave a clear understanding of the subject in the minds of its readers, even if written with a clear understanding itself. Nor can it, built on such doubtful foundations, expect to occupy the permanent and unassailable position to which the extraordinary knowledge and the critical acumen of its author should otherwise entitle it.

There was indeed little harm in refusing to discuss the ultimate nature of the difference between the 'long' and 'short' syllables out of which rhythm and metre are made, for however we may regard this difference, we should all probably agree that it exists, that it is perfectly apparent, and that in the vast majority of cases there can be no possible doubt as to which syllables are 'short' and which 'long.'[1]

[1] Nevertheless it would, we think, have been better to select some terms of less definite connotation than 'long' and 'short,' which necessarily exercise a certain influence both on the writer and on the reader.

But the next step assuredly requires discussion, for it is on a clear understanding of this that an appreciation of Professor Saintsbury's argument depends. The main thesis of his work, which is a polemic as well as a history, is that English verse is radically different from Anglo-Saxon, and not in any appreciable way developed out of it: that while the older verse depends for such rhythmical character as it possesses entirely on the presence of a certain number of all-important accented syllables, linked together by indeterminate groups of unstressed ones, the number of such syllables being variable within wide limits; in the newer verse the relation between the unstressed and stressed—or short and long—is definite. That is to say that the older verse depends on accented syllables, the newer on 'feet.'

But what are feet? This all-important question which so many have tried to solve, is never frankly and fairly dealt with. Professor Saintsbury does indeed touch on the subject from time to time in a haphazard way, and his remarks are sometimes shrewd; but we looked to him to settle it for good and all. As it is, he leaves the matter little, if any, less obscure than he found it.

On the very threshold of the question we are forced to ask: (1) Does the author consider that a line of verse, read as an ordinary intelligent person, reading it for the love of it, reads[1], can be perceived by the ear—trained or untrained—to consist of a constant, or regularly varied, number of parts, and are these parts 'feet'? or (2) Does he look on the parts as merely latent, that is to say something entirely foreign to the sound of the verse, and merely a mechanical means of counting—much as a stick might be ten inches long without there being any inches marked on the stick[2]?

Of these alternatives we feel little doubt that Professor Saintsbury would accept the first, for otherwise it is difficult to see what ground there can be for dividing a verse into feet in one way rather than another, while all such discussions as whether a Pyrrhic, a Cretic, or an Amphibrach can or cannot exist in English would be quite futile, for one could obviously *make* them exist at will. That Professor Saintsbury discusses these and similar questions seems to show that he does perceive, or thinks he perceives, actual parts (to call them 'divisions' would be to beg an important question) out of which a verse is made up.

But now comes the great difficulty: what precisely are these parts?

[1] A theory of metre which requires that poetry should be read as it was never meant to be read, and as no one save the theorist would read it, is necessarily self-condemned; for if we allow distortion of the natural sound of a verse at will, we shall have to accept any and every theory as to its nature that has been put forward. In the note on p. 182 Professor Saintsbury recommends us to read 'scanningly,' which means, we suppose, according to his method of scansion: but surely this begs the whole question.

[2] This has nothing to do with the question, also an important one, dealt with by the author on p. 299 and in an appendix, as to whether the *writers* had any consciousness of feet. It is sufficient that we can now, or at least Professor Saintsbury does now, divide verse into feet,—and thus, if he will permit us to borrow from p. 168 his phrase of another matter, 'discover the positive and doctrinal principles' of work 'written when there is no evidence that any such positive or doctrinal principles existed, and all but a certainty that they did not.'

In one place Professor Saintsbury seems to regard them as something analogous to what Mr J. W. Blake meant by 'monopressures,' i.e. breath-groups—though he would, we suspect, scornfully repudiate the idea—for what else can he mean by giving us such alternative scansions as that of the fourth line of the well-known song about the monks of Ely? After scanning the line thus:

And here | we thes | muneches | sang,

he adds a footnote: 'Or if anybody prefers it,

And he | re we | thes mune | ches sang,

which is, perhaps, better.'

But why the alternative, and why does it seem to Professor Saintsbury to be perhaps better? Is it not because he feels, though perhaps without actually formulating the idea, that one would not read—that nobody indeed *could* read—'we thes' together, that there is necessarily a pause between them? If that is so, the breath-group has at least this much to do with the foot, that portions of two breath-groups with a distinct pause between them cannot be considered as forming one foot—or at least that there is a tendency not so to consider them. Taking Professor Saintsbury's scansion in general there seems actually to be some feeling of this sort at the bottom of it, which though not in itself always affording a criterion for the division into feet, does influence the choice between possible alternatives.

But on the other hand, on p. 100 the author speaks of 'varied but harmonised time-units or feet,' while in the note on p. 82 he seems to accept 'isochronous interval' as equivalent to foot[1]. Now equal periods of time can form a perfectly intelligible basis for the division of a line, and so may natural pauses, but it is perfectly evident that the two are not the same, and that the 'feet' arrived at by one method will be altogether different from the 'feet' arrived at by the other. Until we can get the question settled as to what exactly Professor Saintsbury means by 'feet,' there seems to be considerable, if not insuperable, difficulty in judging between his theory and that of the 'accent-men.' That you *can* divide—at least on paper—any verse into feet is obvious. But until you clearly understand what these divisions are meant to represent, it is impossible to say whether or not they are legitimate.

There are many other points of theory on which it could be wished that the author had been more precise, but what we have said is already more than enough in dealing with work which so emphatically rejects theory—at least the theories of others. But has Professor Saintsbury always been at the pains to understand the views which he rejects before attacking them? The truth is perhaps that theories on metre are by no means the easiest of things to understand, and some confusion may well be excused in a writer who has so much to say of his own;

[1] So far as 'isochronous interval' can be said to mean anything, it seems to be the same as 'time-unit.'

but one cannot help feeling surprised to find on the very threshold of a book in which so many attacks are made upon the theories of Guest, a passage which might almost make one suspect that he had never even read Guest's book with attention. The passage to which we refer is on pp. 8 and 9, and concerns a quotation which Professor Saintsbury gives from Dr Skeat's preface to his edition of Guest. In this extract Guest's system of marking the accentuation of words by means of an upright stroke following the accented syllable is carefully explained, and it is clearly stated that this upright stroke 'is *not* used to mark the division into feet as in the case of Greek and Latin verses.' Guest has

In | the hexam | eter ri | ses : the foun | tain's sil | very col | umn,

which, as Dr Skeat has made quite clear, is equivalent, if we substitute the more usual method of marking accents, to

Ín the hexámeter ríses : the fóuntain's sílvery cólumn,

and Guest's marking means and implies nothing whatever besides. There are no feet, and no divisions whatever, save at the caesura.

Yet we find Professor Saintsbury, after quoting this explanation of the | mark from Dr Skeat, as referring to accent and *not* to foot-division, arguing as if Guest's method of indicating scansion were identical with his own, and saying that 'the Guestian division' of the line makes it anapaestic. It does nothing of the kind: there is no 'Guestian division' at all. Why, indeed, should Guest have been dividing a line into feet, anapaests or otherwise, seeing that the very point of his book is to maintain an altogether different theory of metre? We cannot help thinking that if Professor Saintsbury had given the matter a little more consideration, he would have considerably modified his remarks on Dr Skeat's scansion both in this passage and on p. 62.

It is pleasant to turn from these matters to the aspect of the work as a history of the development of metrical form—whatever the essence of that form may be—for here there can be little but praise and thanks. From Professor Saintsbury's extraordinarily wide reading and known love of all that is best in literature we naturally expect much, and here he does not disappoint us. Step by step he follows the development of the new rhythms[1], showing how at first they are more or less mixed with the older ones, as in Layamon, and how gradually they disengage themselves; while even at a very early date, we get exceptional cases of regular—too regular—metrical arrangement, as in the *Ormulum*[2]. As time goes on, in spite of fluctuation forward and backward, we gradually approach the more perfect system of

[1] Whatever theory one may hold as to verse, it is impossible to deny that the rhythms *are* altogether different. The only question at issue can be to what, if any, extent one can be considered to have developed out of the other.

[2] Although we had done with technical questions, a remark of Professor Saintsbury's concerning Orm's spelling must be noticed. He claims that it 'establishes the very important prosodic fact that doubling the consonant after an English vowel need not, though it *may*, make that vowel long in value.' Does the author really mean to maintain that the insertion of extra letters into the written form of a word can in any conceivable way alter its metrical value?

which Chaucer showed the full power and range. In discussing the alliterative verse of the fourteenth century, the very considerable differences between it and that of Anglo-Saxon are well brought out, and it is remarked that the rhythm instead of being of that indeterminate kind usual in the older verse, is roughly anapaestic. When dealing with the short lyrical pieces of this period the work tends at times to become a mere catalogue of metres, by no means easy to read and scarcely possible to follow. Surely a good deal of pp. 115—138 could have been given in something approaching a tabular form. The view of Chaucer as the perfecter of the material already at his disposal rather than as the discoverer of new is well maintained, though this chapter is perhaps too largely taken up with the emphatic discussion of matters not always relevant, and not everyone will believe in the author's scansion of *K. T.* 1036,

Westward, right swich another in the opposit[1]

as an alexandrine. The chaos of the fifteenth century even Professor Saintsbury can hardly render interesting as a whole, or perhaps it is that we belong to those 'non-experts' whose attention, as he says, it is difficult to fix upon it; though some of the individual pieces to which it can lay claim are among the unforgettable things of literature. What remains—that is to say practically, Wyatt, Surrey, Sackville and Spenser—is an oft-told tale, though never before told so well; and Professor Saintsbury has already dealt with it, at least in part, elsewhere. There is little to say by way of criticism, but it is surely permissible to feel surprise at finding no mention of *Horestes* among the dramatic work dealt with. At least two of the songs reach a standard of technical accomplishment—though perhaps not in a very high form of art—which is quite uncommon at the date. Take, as an example, the last verse of Haltersick's song:

The droum and flute playe lousteley,
The troumpet blose a mayne,
And ventrous knightes corragiousley
Do march before thear trayne:
With speare in reste so lyuely drest,
In armour bryghte and gaye;
With hey trym and tryxey to
Thear banners they dysplaye.

But more remarkable, from the point of view of metric, is the skill with which the clumsy fourteener is handled, as for example in ll. 890—3:

Aboue eache thinge kepe well thy fame, what euer y^{t} thou lose;
For fame once gone, they memory with fame a way it gose;
And it once lost thou shalt, in south, accomptyd lyke to be
A drope of rayne that faulyth in the bosom of the see.

[1] It is not easy to believe in the line at all as it stands. It seems hardly likely that Chaucer would have spoilt his verse for the sake of explaining that westward is 'in the opposit' to eastward, and the temptation to reject 'Westward' as a foolish gloss, is very great.

The man who by 1567 had written that last line surely deserves, in mere gratitude, some mention in a comprehensive history of English prosody.

Turberville gets perhaps somewhat less than justice. His effects indeed seldom or never quite come off, but his work gives one the impression of a much keener sense of the possibilities of rhythm than that of most of his contemporaries. The curious 'Argument to the whole discourse' of his *Songs and Sonnets*, with its rime-words 'Pyndara' and 'Helena' running through the whole, might have been worth a word or two. Gascoigne's *Steel Glass* seems nowhere to be mentioned, neither in discussing the beginning of blank verse, nor in the section dealing with Gascoigne himself. One is a little tired of seeing it stated that Gascoigne was the originator of blank verse, but that is surely no reason for ignoring him altogether.

Professor Saintsbury, rightly enough, has little to say of 'sports.' He does not, for example, even mention the curious 'Complaint of Cadwallader' in the *Mirror for Magistrates*, which 'agreeth very wel with the Roman verse called Iambus,' and he deals very lightly with the 'classical' versing of 1576 and onwards; though he promises more on the subject at another time. In a sense, it is true that the 'classical' metres are negligible—the work accomplished was, almost without exception, beneath contempt. Nevertheless the desire to find new harmonies and to perfect the old, which was in turn a cause and a symptom of the 'classical' movement, can hardly have been barren of result. Some account of the metrical study which accompanied the movement would naturally be looked for here, for surely it belongs essentially to the period of Spenser. But the author is perhaps hardly to be blamed if, as we suspect, his reason for holding this over for another volume was lest by a weary discussion he should mar the climax of that splendid name.

All students of English literature will give hearty thanks to Professor Saintsbury for this work of his, and will look forward with eager anticipation to the two volumes which are to complete it. They will regret that it is not wholly free from faults which many a lesser man than its author would certainly have avoided, but they will at the same time recognize that, taking the work as a whole, there is probably no other man who could have done it half so well.

R. B. McKerrow.

The Language of the Northumbrian Gloss to the Gospel of St Luke. By Margaret Dutton Kellum. (*Yale Studies in English*, xxx.) New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1906. 8vo. vi + 118 pp.

This treatise completes the series of special studies of the Northumbrian glosses to the four Gospels, inaugurated by Miss Lea's article on the language of St Mark (*Anglia*, vol. xvi). In 1901 Füchsel contributed to *Anglia* (vol. xxiv) an examination of the gloss to

St John, which was followed in 1903 by Foley's treatise, *The Language of the Northumbrian Gloss to the Gospel of St Matthew* (*Yale Studies in English*, No. XIV). The last of the series follows closely the method of its predecessors, and is, in itself, a very valuable piece of research.

The subject is handled from the point of view of (i) Phonology, (ii) Inflection. Under the first section the vowels of stressed syllables are dealt with, then those of unstressed and secondarily stressed syllables, and finally the consonants. The section, headed Inflection, deals in detail with the Noun, Verb, Adjective, and Adverb.

Certain subsections call for special attention.

Germanic a (§ 1).

It is an open question whether Germ. *a* was retained in OE. before a following guttural vowel, or whether the *a* in such cases is due to a later change whereby *æ* > *a*. The latter view has the support of Cosijn, Sweet, and Sokoll. The form *wælle* (provided it be not due to *w*-influence) is explained in the text by Sievers' law, according to which *a*, before doubled consonants and *sc*, became *æ* if a palatal vowel followed, but was retained before a velar vowel. In *Otia Merseiana* (vol. IV) Prof. H. C. Wyld supports the view that Germ. *a* became *æ* under all circumstances in OE., and further suggests that Breaking of this *æ* took place before *-ll* or *l* + cons. only when both consonants belonged to the same syllable. According to this view *wælle* is quite regular, though in other cases the working of the law has been obscured by analogy.

Nasal Influence (§ 15).

WG. *a* before nasals, we are told, appears almost entirely as *o*, the exceptions occurring in the second stem of strong verbs, *geband*, *fand*, &c., in *ðæne* and *am*, and in the loan-words *angel* and *camal*. The statement gives additional confirmation of the view that *a* and *o* forms exist side by side in all the OE. dialects. Bülbring's statement in regard to late WS. that 'Aelfric und der ws. Evangelienübersetzer gebrauchen ausschliesslich *a*' (*Elementarbuch*, § 123) obscures the fact that in some 150 pages of Wulfstan's *Homilies* (Napier's text) *on* occurs regularly, and is found in composition in *onȝean* (26 times), *onstanden* (42 times), *onȝin* (once). *Lichom* occurs 5 times, *wong* (3), *þone* (once).

Breaking (§ 19 to § 21).

The forms *iornað*, *beornende*, &c. support Bülbring's statement that 'im Anglischen geht die Metathese der Brechung voraus' (*Elementarbuch*, § 132), but *gærs* and *arn* can only be explained by the assumption that there were two periods of metathesis, one earlier and one later than Breaking. Bülbring, in fact, admits this in the same paragraph and in § 518, where he says, 'Auch im Anglischen ist die Metathesis z. T. erst nach der Brechungsperiode eingetreten.' This view is hinted at in the text in connection with the words *birdas* and *ðirde*, but without a reference to *gærs*, etc.

Syncope of Middle Vowels (§ 60).

Under this heading *cyrtlas* is wrongly given as an example of the syncope of middle vowels after a short syllable. As regards *nicel* and *yrfel*, it might have been pointed out that in WS. also they are almost regularly treated as longs + shorts.

A few misprints occur. *habbend* appears for *habbend* (p. 2, l. 20), *a* for *ā* (p. 11, l. 14 and p. 13, l. 23), *o* for *ō* (p. 13, l. 6), *ea*, *eo* for *ēa*, *ēo* (p. 16, l. 13), *ea* for *ēa* (p. 28, l. 14), *io*, *eo*, *ea* for their corresponding longs (p. 28, § 29). On p. 36 'diphthongisation of *i* to *ia*' should read 'diphthongisation of *u* to *iu*.' On p. 83 the sign > twice appears for <; and, lastly, there is a misplacement of the signs on p. 60 (last line).

Before closing this brief review, it must be repeated that this treatise is a valuable piece of research, which should prove of great use to all students of Northumbrian. It is based on wide philological knowledge, of which the copious references and the bibliography afford further evidence.

P. G. Thomas.

Oldcastle-Falstaff in der englischen Literatur bis zu Shakespeare. Von Wilhelm Baeske (*Palaestra*, L.). Berlin: Mayer & Müller, 1905. 8vo. vi + 119 pp.

In this number of *Palaestra*, the author traces with great thoroughness the development of the character of Falstaff out of that of the historical Oldcastle. He gives a résumé of the contemporary historical data for Oldcastle's life, character, prosecution and death, shows the gradual darkening of the traits of his character by the monastic chroniclers of the fifteenth century, and its rehabilitation and glorification in the early part of the next century by Bale and Fox, and treats finally of its appearance in drama in the *Famous Victories of Henry V* and in four plays of Shakespeare. He shows very well how in the last phase the character received a number of fresh touches suggested by the 'Miles Gloriosus' of Plautus and its analogues in Italian and English comedy: but he does not commit the sin of referring every element of Shakespeare's immortal creation to some earlier source. He recognizes how large a part of Falstaff is Shakespeare's and Shakespeare's only. At the same time we think he might well have gone a little further in this direction. When he finds certain traits in Falstaff which correspond to some statements made by monastic chroniclers but afterwards disregarded, he is apt to see in them some 'indirect influence' of the medieval writers. In most of these cases the coincidence is probably quite accidental.

The dissertation shows industrious reading, sharp observation, and here and there has a sentence of happy criticism. We would ask the author however if he has any ground for his statement in regard to the *Second Part of Henry IV* (p. 89): 'Shakespeare hatte zuerst nicht die Absicht, das Stück zu schreiben, aber der Erfolg des ersten Teiles

ermunterte ihn dazu.' (Does not the last speech in the play point to a sequel?) He has occasionally been careless in the form in which he has left his Latin quotations: 'conjugum' (p. 21) should be 'conjugem' or 'conjugium': 'decius,' 'cerruet' (p. 32) should be 'decies,' 'corruet,' and the quotation at the bottom of p. 21 is left apparently incomplete. His worst slip, though a natural one in a foreigner, is his misunderstanding of the expression (*II. Henry IV*, v. 5. 97) 'Go, carry Sir John Falstaff to the Fleet.' He repeatedly translates this 'auf die Flotte' and on p. 91 adds a note 'Schlegel übersetzt willkürlich "ins Gefängnis."' One may perhaps doubt if he has a first-hand acquaintance with Tennyson's dramatic monologue on 'Sir John Oldcastle, Lord Cobham' when he calls it on p. 119 a 'Ballade.' But these are small blemishes in a work of serious value.

G. C. Moore Smith.

John Webster. The Periods of his Work as determined by his Relations to the Drama of his Day. By E. E. Stoll. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Co-operative Soc. 1905. 8vo. 216 pp.

Dr Stoll's monograph on Webster is a very elaborate and very careful piece of work. That he has added very largely to our knowledge of that dramatist we do not think, but his often acute criticism has undoubtedly done much to clear the ground, while he has also been successful in throwing valuable light on minor points of interest. The perseverance and energy with which he has conducted his enquiry is worthy of all respect, and if in some cases the outcome has been disappointing it must be borne in mind that negative results are far from being worthless. No doubt Dr Stoll would claim as his chief contribution to the history of the drama the investigations he has undertaken concerning Webster's dependence on other writers. He has followed the methods used with considerable effect in Professor Thorndike's notable essay on the *Influence of Beaumont and Fletcher on Shakespeare*, which promises to become in a minor way quite an epoch-making work. In this however, we are unable to agree with him. He appears to us to have entirely misconceived Webster's art. A careful study of Symond's essay—with which by the way he seems not to have been acquainted—should serve to show him how absurdly superficial is his characterisation of Flamineo and Bosola (for instance on p. 124). It is certainly not surprising to find a man who can write thus and who cites *Titus Andronicus* as evidence of the permanence of Shakespeare's individuality even when under external influences, also regarding Webster as a sort of mirror capable of nothing but the reflection of a dominant model. Likely enough that we have been in the habit of thinking of Webster as the author of two tragedies only and of dismissing his other work—which by the way is largely either doubtful or undetermined—as less typical and consequently of less importance. Nevertheless to anyone who is content to judge on a

literary rather than an analytic basis Webster remains Webster, and his hand is as clearly traceable in his early plays as in those of his prime. For instance, many scenes in *Sir Thomas Wyatt* are to our mind clearly Webster's, though Dr Stoll assigns nearly the whole play to Dekker. Both authors introduced sententious couplets into their work, but those of sc. xiii (Hazlitt, but he calls it xii) are as distinctively in Webster's manner as those of sc. xiv are in Dekker's. In this connection, by the way, Dr Stoll has gone wrong by supposing Fleay to have reckoned by Hazlitt's impossible division of scenes. The change of personae occurs, not on p. 36, but on p. 30. He also mentions, as evidence that Dekker was the main if not the sole author of the second part, that he received £3 in earnest of it from Henslowe. But here again he has blundered, for Dekker only received 5*s*.

W. W. Greg.

A Shakespeare Phonology. With a Rime-Index to the Poems as a Pronouncing Vocabulary. By Wilhelm Viëtor. Marburg: Elwert; London: Nutt, 1906. 8vo. xvi + 290 pp.

At last we are arriving at some degree of daylight in the vexed question of Shakespeare's pronunciation, and the thanks of all students of Shakespeare and of all interested in the historical development of the English language are due to Professor Viëtor for this book, which marks an important step in advance. It sums up the results of an enormous amount of work which has of late years—chiefly in Germany—been devoted to the settlement of the pronunciation of early modern English, and it treats the pronunciation of Shakespeare as reflected in his published works, with all the scientific precision and thoroughness for which the Marburg professor's numerous other works have made him so well known.

Much that is here brought before us in systematic form had already lain somewhat hidden away in the small print notes of Professor Viëtor's own *Elemente der Phonetik* (5th edition, 1905) and other treatises. The invaluable work of Ellis and Sweet has in recent years been followed by a large amount of detailed investigation of the development of English speech sounds in German university dissertations as well as in treatises of wider range like those of Luick and Horn. Further useful results may be expected from the full reprints of works by the grammarians and phoneticians of the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Of the greatest importance is Jiriczek's careful reprint, published in 1903, of the *Logonomia Anglica* (1621) by Alexander Gill, who was the schoolmaster of Milton and a contemporary of Shakespeare, and now we may look for a whole series of such reprints in the *Neudrucke frühneuenglischer Grammatiken* (Halle, Niemeyer), of which the general editor, Dr Brotanek, has himself supplied the first volume, a reprint of Mason's *Grammaire Angloise* (1622 and 1633). It is, of

course, impossible to overrate the value of the two great dictionaries of which England has good reason to be proud, the *New English Dictionary* and the *English Dialect Dictionary*.

'One of the principal results obtained by previous research,' says Viëtor (p. 4), 'has been the recognition of the coexistence of various pronunciations also in Shakespeare's time.' There was no single norm of pronunciation, nothing like a standard, which is even to-day difficult to settle. There were differences due to class, profession, origin; there was one pronunciation at court and in fashionable society, another amongst the people of the city; that of the schools and universities was different from that of the unlearned; there was the difference between old and new, the conservative and the progressive, the grammarians doubtless favouring the former, and perhaps also the stage more or less following them. With the rapid growth of London and the continual influx of newcomers from all parts of the country many a peculiarity of local dialect came into vogue and even found its reflection in literature, and then either gained a permanent standing in the general mode of speech, or after a time passed out of fashion as a provincialism. We have an example of the last phenomenon in the pronunciation of *long* and *wrong*, which in Spenser and Shakespeare often rimed with *tongue* and *sung*, i.e., with the sound *u* (as in *put*); but this pronunciation disappeared later, surviving only in dialect, while the exactly similar word *among* still kept this irregular pronunciation, and at the present day still rimes with *sung*, the more regular pronunciation, riming with *long*, being now considered a vulgarism. It is interesting in this connection to notice in the *English Dialect Dictionary* that in Shakespeare's own county of Warwick *long*, *wrong* and *strong* still have the same sound as *among* and *tongue*.

But the difficulty is to decide which of the several current pronunciations was used by any particular author or meant by him to be used in reciting his verses. Doubtless, as occasionally in modern times, an author would use double forms; so probably Shakespeare and Spenser in words like *long* (with both *o* and *u*), or *pierce* (with *ĕ*, *ē* and *ī*), or *word* (with *o* and *u*). Viëtor (p. 82) thinks 'it would be rash to admit *u*' in the *-ong* words, except in the one word *among*. In the light, however, of the dialect conditions of Warwickshire, referred to above, and of such rimes in the poems as *wrong*: *tongue*: *young*, *long*: *young* and others which he quotes on pp. 244, 245, and which may be paralleled by examples from the plays (e.g. *Love's Labour's Lost* has several similar rimes), why should we not admit the *u*-pronunciation by the side of an *o*-pronunciation, just as we allow *word* to have had an *o*- as well as an *u*-pronunciation on account of its rimes with *record* (*Lucrece*, 1642) and with *boord* (*Love's Labour's Lost*, II, i, 218)? Here we touch an important question of principle, viz. the value of rimes as a guide to Shakespeare's pronunciation. Ellis assumed that little reliance could be placed on them, arguing from the uncertainty of our modern poets; and Professor Franz in his *Orthographie, Lautgebung und Wortbildung in den Werken Shakespeares* (Heidelberg, 1905), asserts (p. 12) that

Shakespeare's rimes have no independent value as proofs. Viëtor, on the other hand, relies chiefly on rimes. 'Our present object being to ascertain the individual pronunciation of Shakespeare, a new attempt will be made to derive information above all from one of the internal sources reluctantly used by Ellis, viz. rime.' And he shows 'that there is a far greater majority of perfect rimes in Shakespeare's poems and plays than might appear from modern usage and also from the conclusions of Ellis.' Here we have two directly contradictory views in two works which appear almost simultaneously. To anyone who carefully studies Viëtor's book and particularly his rime-lists there can scarcely be any doubt which is the correct view. Much wrong has been done the Elizabethan writers by judging their language too much from the point of view of modern English in the question of rime; more and more of their so-called imperfect rimes are now capable of being 'rescued.' We must allow them the poetical licence of using double and even threefold forms, of making use of dialect pronunciations and also of what we may perhaps call 'traditional' rimes, but it is to be doubted whether mere 'eye-rimes' were already in use. As a result of their opposite views, Viëtor and Franz come to somewhat different results. Viëtor, examining Shakespeare's rimes, shows that, whatever may have been the form of pronunciation in familiar conversation in his own circle of acquaintanceship or in other circles of the London of his day, he exercised a certain amount of reserve in his poetry. He did not admit rimes which might have been quite allowable, if he had adopted pronunciations which we know from other sources to have been in use in some sections of the community. Consequently Shakespeare's pronunciation, as represented by Viëtor, approaches in many points that of Alexander Gill, who, as we know, advocated a somewhat pedantic and antiquated pronunciation. Franz does not succeed in giving us any definite view of Shakespeare's own pronunciation. He rightly assumes a difference between the pronunciation of the scholars and that of educated people in their everyday life, and gives two types of phonetic transcription on pp. 60–63 of his book; in one of these he simply follows Gill, who was certainly *more* conservative than Shakespeare, while in the other he 'constructs' a standard by selection from various evidences which show the more advanced forms of pronunciation of general society. But as he neglects the only testimony we have from Shakespeare himself, his rimes, he has no means of deciding what Shakespeare's own practice may have been. Viëtor gives us for the first time something which is both definite and founded on authentic evidence.

Perhaps one might demur to Viëtor's restriction of his investigation to the rimes of the poems. He says on page 5, 'it would be manifestly impracticable as well as superfluous, to classify all the rimes occurring in the plays in a similar manner; so much the more as this would involve many difficult problems of authorship and textual criticism.' It might, however, be useful to examine at least the rimes of all such plays and parts of plays as undoubtedly belong to Shakespeare and see

whether they in all points agree with his usage in the poems—whether he allowed in the plays a more popular and advanced pronunciation, whether there was any difference between the earlier and later plays in the quality of the rimes, whether in the beginning he showed traces of his native dialect and later conformed more to a norm.

The first part of Viëtor's book discusses the rimes of each vowel taken in order, gives reasons for the conclusions drawn from these rimes, compares the evidence of contemporary grammarians and other sources, including modern dialects, and discusses irregularities and anomalies apparent or real. To mention one point, he shows that Shakespeare in his poems is pretty careful to keep distinct the sounds of M.E. *ai* and *ā*; pairs of words like *paid* and *made* (= pæid, mæ:d) or *fair* and *care* (= fæir, kæ:r) are not allowed to rime, although we know that in the popular language of Shakespeare's day they were already identical in vowel sound (= æ:). It is to be noticed, however, that there is not perfect consistency; the distinction seems to be already disappearing before dentals, for here a few rimes between earlier *ai* and *ā* have crept in. The vowels naturally take up most space. There is a short chapter on the consonants and another on 'Stress and Rhythm,' in which the author expresses strong doubts as regards some of the radical views of Van Dam and Stoffel in their two well-known books, *William Shakespeare, Prosody and Text* (Leyden, 1900), and *Chapters on English Printing, Prosody and Pronunciation* (Heidelberg, 1902). The second half of the volume is occupied by a complete rime-index, to the importance of which for a full understanding of the arguments of the first part the author calls special attention in his preface—'a critic who only peruses my text is almost sure to raise objections.' The careful and clear arrangement of this index is especially commendable, also the word-index, which makes the whole book so useful for reference.

This *Shakespeare Phonology* is indispensable to every serious student of Shakespeare, and it is to be hoped that it and its companion volume, *A Shakespeare Reader* in phonetic transcription, which has just appeared, will find the circulation such books ought to have, especially in England, where too little attention is given to the good work done by Germans in this field.

F. J. Curtis.

The Poems of William Cowper. Edited, with an Introduction and Notes, by J. C. Bailey. With 27 Illustrations. London: Methuen & Co., 1905. 8vo. xcii + 742 pp.

The Complete Poetical Works of William Cowper. Edited by H. S. Milford. London: Henry Frowde, 1905. 12mo. xxx + 672 pp.

After many years of undeserved neglect, two editions of Cowper's poems have appeared within a very short time of each other. Both

are welcome, for each possesses certain advantages lacked by the other. The illustrations that adorn Mr Bailey's volume are, with one or two exceptions, intimately connected with the poet's works, and they include two or three reproductions of hitherto unpublished designs by Blake. Mr Bailey's edition does not profess to include Cowper's letters, but, having obtained leave to publish thirty-five new letters, he has printed them as an Appendix to his Introduction, and they add considerably to the interest and value of his volume. We suppose it was inevitable to omit the translation of Homer, though it is a little illogical to admit some translations and not all: 'consideration of space,' it seems, forbade. We regret, however, that Mr Bailey did not collect the fugitive prose writings of Cowper; they would have been very welcome, as they are usually omitted in modern editions, and they would not have taken up much additional space. Mr Bailey's own Introduction runs to some fifty pages, and, although we do not profess to hold very friendly feelings towards the intrusion of any editor's critical views between an author and his reader, it has to be admitted that, if an introduction of this length and nature formed part of the scheme of the edition, it has been written ably, with knowledge, and forms as good an 'introduction' to the work as could be desired. We hold, however, that these things are best published apart from a text, and that there is generally quite enough to occupy available space and time in concentration upon questions of text, or upon annotation. We gather from Mr Bailey's Preface that his first aim has 'been to present a more accurate text than has hitherto been accessible.' Cowper's text has not hitherto been treated with that scrupulous fidelity which is to be desired, and Mr Bailey's labours have produced a more satisfactory result than have those of any of his predecessors. He is to be congratulated upon the measure of success he has attained; but his edition is by no means faultless. One or two points whereon issue might be joined doubtless Mr Bailey would contend were matters of opinion;—the eclectic method, for example, which prevails throughout the text and greatly detracts from the value of the work,—but it is a little disconcerting to find that even so simple a matter as the printing of the copy of the title-page of Cowper's first volume of *Poems* on p. 85 contains several variations from the actual title-page itself. Possibly 'polished' for 'polish'd' is an intentional modernising, none the less regrettable if it is; and it may be that the printer is responsible for the variation in the sentence from Caraccioli. Mr Bailey's notes are useful: we wish there were more of them; his record of variants is not exhaustive: we wish it had been, and we hope that, having gone so far, Mr Bailey may see his way to complete the record at no distant date; and his indexes are good.

In the matter of text, Mr Milford's handy edition is to be preferred to Mr Bailey's larger work. A definite edition has been taken as the basis of his text, and the variants of the other authoritative editions are quoted chronologically. The reader therefore knows where he is,

and can form his own judgment without the interference of an editor's preferences. Furthermore, Mr Milford's record of variants is, so far as we have been able to check it, fuller. His notes deal with textual and chronological matters only, and, following the excellent example set him in Mr Thomas Hutchinson's Oxford Wordsworth—the most satisfactory edition of Wordsworth at present in existence—he has given a chronological summary of the events of Cowper's life, which furnishes the reader with all he may be supposed to need away from the more elaborate biographical and critical estimates. Altogether, it is a most business-like and handy edition, marred only, we venture to submit, by the ugly numbering of the lines on every page, school-book fashion. Not even are poems consisting of four-line verses, and epigrams in four, six and eight lines all told, spared this last indignity.

A. R. Waller.

Palmerin of England: Some Remarks on this Romance and on the Controversy concerning its Authorship. By William Edward Purser. London: David Nutt. 8vo. x + 466 pp.

Till within the last few years the attribution of *Palmerin de Inglaterra* to Hurtado was almost universally accepted in Spain. Critical opinion has shown signs of wavering recently, and it is not too much to say that the ascription will not survive Mr Purser's examination of it. *Palmerin* was generally believed to be the work of the Portuguese diplomatist, Francisco de Moraes, till 1786 when Macedo, the editor of a reprint issued that year at Lisbon, discovered that a French version of the story had appeared in 1552–53, and that (like the *Olivier de Castile* of Philippe Camus) it purported to be a translation from the Spanish. In 1786 no copy of *Palmerin* in Spanish was known to exist, and, as the earliest Portuguese edition is dated 1567, Macedo assumed that the book might be of French origin. Nine years later, Pellicer took note of this admission—or rather of part of it—and, seeing that Macedo was inclined to abandon the Portuguese claim, declared that *Palmerin* had been originally written in Spanish. This will surprise no one who is familiar with Pellicer's methods. In 1826 a copy of *Palmerin* in Spanish (1547–48) came into the hands of Vicente Salvá, who first of all assigned it to Miguel Ferrer, for no better reason than that Ferrer signed the dedications in both volumes. Shortly afterwards a copy of verses in this Spanish edition was seen to be an acrostic, which read as follows: "Lvys hvrtado avtor al lector da saluds." It could not be disputed that the Spanish version of *Palmerin* was older than the French version, and the acrostic was taken to mean that Hurtado was the author of the romance. This interpretation was given, as a matter of fact, by Gayangos in his *Discurso preliminar* to the *Libros de Caballerías* (1857) in Rivadeneyra's *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles,* and Gayangos's authority was regarded as decisive in and out of Spain. In 1860 the Brazilian Mendes attempted to defend

Moraes's title; but, though he made out a fair case, he committed a number of incidental errors, which were exposed by Gayangos, who, however, skilfully evaded the main point. There the matter rested till 1876, when the debate was reopened by Benjumea in an acute *Discurso sobre el Palmerin de Inglaterra*, which evidently suggested to Madame Michaëlis de Vasconcellos an extremely able study of the subject in the sixth volume of the *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* (1882). This produced a considerable impression, but some patriotic Spanish scholars remained unconvinced. Mr Purser's book completely destroys the Spanish case.

Hurtado appears to have been a bookseller's hack, living in straitened circumstances in a provincial town, writing to the best of his small powers such works as were commissioned from him. He was more than once called in to complete works which had been left unfinished by their authors, and his original writings are almost wholly devoid of talent. This is not the type of man from whom we should expect a book like *Palmerin*, which shows a minute acquaintance with the best contemporary society—and especially with French society. It is precisely the sort of book which might be expected from Moraes Cabral, who formed part of Noronha's embassy to Paris in 1540, who during three years had ample opportunities of observing the society described in *Palmerin*, and who had an unsuccessful love-affair with a French lady named Torsi, introduced into the text of the romance. It should further be observed that Moraes was always considered in Portugal as the author of the book, and that he was universally known as Moraes Cabral *o Palmeirim* for many years before he was murdered at Evora in 1572. These considerations do not settle the matter, but they have a significance which cannot be overlooked.

No controversy would ever have arisen on the subject if the first Portuguese edition of *Palmerin* were in existence. The earliest known Portuguese edition was published at Evora in 1567: only two copies of it have been found, and in both copies the title-page and dedication are missing. Gayangos dwells on the fact that Moraes's name does not appear in the Evora edition of 1567, but he does not inform his readers that both copies are mutilated at the only point where the name would appear. In the Lisbon reprint of 1592 there is a dedication by Moraes to D. Maria de Portugal, and the publisher states that this is a reproduction of the dedication in a previous edition. There is no reason for doubting this assertion. The dedication was certainly not inserted to please D. Maria (who had been dead for fifteen years), nor to please Moraes (who had been dead for twenty years); and it cannot have been inserted with the object of bolstering up Moraes's claim to be the author, for his authorship of *Palmerin* was not contested at the time. It may therefore be assumed that the publisher is correct in saying that he took the dedication from a previous edition, and, as the 1567 edition was the most accessible to the publisher, it is extremely probable that the dedication was taken from it. It is open to the opponents of Moraes's claim to dispute the authenticity of the dedication, and to

raise difficulties with respect to its date. Assuming that the dedication in the 1567 edition was forged, who can have forged it? Not the printer: it would be a dangerous trick to dedicate a book to the King's sister, and to attach to it the name of the King's private treasurer. Not Moraes: his claim was universally admitted; and, if he forged the dedication, the King's sister must have been his accomplice. It follows that the dedication is authentic, and that Moraes wrote it. When? Not later than 1557, for it mentions João II as still alive. Other internal evidence goes to show that the dedication dates from 1544, and, as a dedication presupposes the existence of a text, the conclusion is that a *Palmerin* in Portuguese existed as early as 1543–44.

Even the hastiest reader of *Palmerin* cannot help noticing that the author is full of Portuguese prejudices, and that, while he knows the topography of Portugal, he is unfamiliar with the topography of Spain. It is singular that he describes the Tagus as it appears in Portugal. This would be remarkable in Hurtado, who knew the Tagus as it is seen at Toledo, and who wrote a *Memorial de algunas cosas notables que tiene la Imperial Ciudad de Toledo.* It would be perfectly natural in Moraes, who knew the Tagus only in its lower reaches. It should also be noted that the Portuguese text is in every way superior to the Spanish text, and that passages unintelligible in the Spanish offer no difficulty in the Portuguese. The Spanish word *cosa* (thing or thingumy) corresponds to such words as *lembrança, medos, gasalhado, brincas, vaidades, peças, cobiça,* and so forth: the obvious inference is that the Spanish text was translated from a Portuguese original by some one whose acquaintance with Portuguese was somewhat limited. The most interesting and convincing chapter in Mr Purser's book is that in which he identifies the characters introduced into Chapters cxxvii—cxlvi of *Palmerin.* The fact that the names of these characters are given more accurately in the Portuguese text than in the Spanish (or even in the French) tells its own tale. Is it at all likely that Hurtado ever heard of Francis I's daughter Marguerite (who appears under the anagrammatic name of Gratiamar), of Mansi (the Duchesse d'Estampes), of Latranja (Madame de L'Estrange), of Torsi (Brantôme's *belle Torcy,* with whom Moraes was in love), and of Madame d'Albania (wife of John Stewart)? It is certain that Moraes was personally acquainted with most of them, and that he mentions Mansi and Torsi in a private letter, dated Melun, December 10, 1541. That Moraes should write resentfully of these foreign court-beauties (who ridiculed his airs and graces as unbecoming to a man of his years) is natural enough. It would be unaccountable in Hurtado, who was not in a position to know even their names. Lastly, there is a chronological difficulty in accepting the ascription of *Palmerin* to Hurtado. According to his own statement, he was fifty years old in 1582, and was therefore fifteen when the first volume of the Spanish *Palmerin* was printed off on July 23, 1547. It would follow that he wrote the text when he was thirteen or fourteen. This is wholly incredible, and puts his claim out of court. It is only just to add that, apart from the acrostic, which appears to be a boyish

practical joke, Hurtado never personally claimed to be the author of *Palmerin*, and in the third stanza of the acrostic he seems to point out that the book is of foreign origin:

> enello despierto
> todas las flores: de dichos notables
> ỏyendo sentencias: que son saludables
> robando la fruta de agenos guertos.

Mr Purser has established beyond doubt the priority of the Portuguese version by Moraes. He may be right in conjecturing that the Spanish text was written by the Portuguese author of the Spanish romance, *Don Florando de Inglaterra*, and that it was revised by the bookseller, Ferrer. But that is a secondary matter. As to the main point there cannot be two opinions.

JAMES FITZMAURICE-KELLY.

Comedia famosa del Esclavo del Demonio compvesta por el doctor Mira de Mesqua (Barcelona, 1612). Edited, with an Introduction and Notes, by MILTON A. BUCHANAN. Baltimore: J. H. Furst Company. 1905. 8vo. 144 pp.

Mr Buchanan's edition of *El Esclavo del Demonio* is a useful and conscientious piece of work, and it speaks well for his thoroughness that only one text of this famous play has escaped him. This is the text contained in the *Sexta Parte* mentioned by Schack, and there is a certain note of scepticism in Mr Buchanan's reference to it:

> The other *sexta parte*, 1654, referred to by Schack alone (cf. La Barrera, pp. 689, 705), I have not succeeded in finding. A copy of the 1654 (?) edition is in the Ticknor Library (*Catalogue*, 1879, p. 98), but as Mr Wadhu kindly informs me there is *no* date on the *title-page*, but only on the *back* of the book!

There is, however, no doubt as to the existence of an extra *Sexta Parte*, for a copy of it exists in the Bodleian Library (Arch. Σ. iii. 21) with the following printed title-page: *Sexta Parte de Comedias Nuevas Escogidas de los Mejores Ingenios.* [Device] *Con licencia, En Zaragoza, Por los Herederos de Pedro de Lanaja del Reyno de Aragon. Año de 1654. A Costa de Roberto Duport, Mercader de Libros.* This is not, indeed, the *Sexta Parte* indicated by Barrera as being known to Schack, for that *Sexta Parte* appears to have been published at Madrid; the volume in the Bodleian Library seems to be a reprint of the *Sexta Parte* of the Madrid *Escogidas*, and is to be distinguished from the *Dudosa Parte sexta* noted by Barrera on p. 705. The *Dudosa Parte sexta* does not form part of any recognized collection: it is a made-up volume, containing *sueltas* of the plays in the Zaragoza reprint (1654).

These details are mentioned here to complete the bibliographical history of the text given in Mr Buchanan's excellent introduction. The present edition is reprinted from the *Tercera Parte de Comedias de Lope de Vega y otros Auctores*, published in 1612 at Barcelona by

Sebastián de Cormellas. As Cormellas was an enterprising provincial pirate, no special authority attaches to most of his reprints; but, since the 1611 edition of the *Tercera Parte* is inaccessible, Mr Buchanan has rightly decided to reproduce the earliest available text. As it happens, in the present instance Cormellas's text is at least as good as any other, and the reproduction is extremely accurate. Apart from *la* for *lu* (Acto Primero, l. 9), I have nothing to add to the errata list, and the notes are sufficient and to the point. The only criticism to be made on the text is that it seems inconsistent to preserve the archaic spelling and to introduce the modern system of accentuation in the case of such words as *inclinación* and *auréys*. There is a rather puzzling direction (p. 141) to "note the accentuation of nigromancía" in l. 1458:

> Si aprender nigromancía
> quieres, enseñarla puedo...

Some modern authorities may be quoted in favour of accentuating the antepenultimate, and a few apparent examples of such accentuation might be found in Calderón; but there is no doubt that *nigromancía* is normal now, and that it was normal in Mira's time appears from a passage in Lope de Vega's *El Servir con mala estrella* (Acto II. Esc. xii.):

> Estudié nigromancía
> Como to he dicho, en Granada.

Another instance of the prevailing accentuation occurs in Tirso de Molina's *Amar por señas* (Acto II. Esc. x.):

> Si se ensuegra, si enmadrastra
> Porque esta nigromancía
> La trampea lo que pasa....

But these are points of no great importance. In all essentials Mr Buchanan's edition is a very sound piece of work. The studies on Mira and on the influence of *El Esclavo del Demonio*, promised in the introduction, will be no less welcome.

James Fitzmaurice-Kelly.

La Pastorale dramatique en France à la fin du XVI^e^ et au commencement du XVII^e^ siècle. Par Jules Marsan. Paris: Hachette, 1905. 8vo. xii + 524 pp.

This elaborate study of well over 400 octavo pages, not counting appendices and the like, contains a minute record alike of the development of the pastoral play on the French stage for a quarter of a century or more on either side of the year 1600, as also of the origins of the form and the influences under which it arose. The origin, of course, is Italian and the subject is treated in some detail. As to the origin of the pastoral drama in Italy M. Marsan adopts the orthodox view of the evolution from the non-dramatic eclogue. Chap. I deals with the

antecedent conditions which in various degrees and in various manners influenced the development of the form: the mythological drama, the romance of Sannazaro and the rustic comedy. The actual process of evolution is not traced in any detail, the author being naturally enough concerned rather with the influence of the finished article than the method of manufacture—or should we say invention? It is, however, rather curious to find him remarking in this connection: 'M. Carducci a passé en revue, avec une érudition précise et claire, la série des tentatives par lesquelles la pastorale s'achemine lentement vers sa forme définitive,' for though the remark is true enough it must be remembered that the Italian scholar wrote his account of the works in question with the avowed object of disproving the view of the development of the eclogue, for evidence of which reference is here made to his essay. Chap. II is a comparative survey of the work of Tasso and Guarini, in which stress is laid chiefly on the temperament and fortunes of the two writers, and one is a little tempted to regard the treatment as sentimental rather than literary. It is, however, evidently not the author's intention to give any regular account of the Italian pastoral drama as such, or many works would have had to be discussed in this place which only find mention in subsequent sections of the book. Chap. III deals at some length with the eclogue and drama of Spain, and Chap. IV with the romance of that country, an important factor in all subsequent pastoralism. Chap. V, on 'Les influences étrangères et le tempérament français,' deals under the headings 'L'influence antique,' 'L'italianisme,' and 'L'hispanisme,' with the manner in which the foreign influences made themselves felt in France. Subsequent chapters treat of the development of the French pastoral, of Hardy and d'Urfé, of pastoral from the *Astrée* to Racan, of pastoral and the origins of the classical drama, and of the later transformations of the kind ending in the rise of the opera. Under these various headings the subject is considered in all reasonable fullness. Now and then indeed we come upon remarks which suggest that the work might have benefited by further revision, but they are not important. We will only cite one instance which might possibly lead to an erroneous impression. On p. 31 the author says: 'Or, à cet égard [the influence namely of the Italian pastoral in France], trois pièces nous donnent à peu près toute son histoire: l'*Aminta*, le *Pastor fido*, la *Filli di Sciro*.' When he comes to write his preface, however, he dwells upon another side of the case (p. viii): 'Il en est d'autres [œuvres], de valeur inférieure, mais dont l'action ne fut pas moindre.... Traduit par Rolland Brisset en 1591, le *Pentimento Amoroso* inspire jusqu'en 1650 toute une série de pièces et souvent, nous le verrons, c'est à l'influence de Luigi Grotto que l'on doit reporter ce que l'on attribue d'ordinaire à celle de Guarini.' The work is provided with an admirable bibliography which supplies references to a good many books likely to be new to English students, owing to the unfortunate deficiencies of the British Museum both in the way of original editions of the less-known French and Italian writers and also, less excusably, and in spite of recent efforts, of

modern critical works by foreign scholars. On the other hand there is no excuse for the absence of an index.

The subject of the pastoral is one which has a curious fascination for the literary historian in spite of the appalling dullness of the great majority of the works of the kind. What was it that lent vitality to this strange product of artificiality? 'Il est aisé de prouver, par raison démonstrative,' writes M. Marsan, 'que la pastorale est, sur le théâtre, le plus artificiel et le plus monotone des genres,—le plus incapable, en conséquence, de s'imposer au public,' and proceeds to quote opinions to this effect by Beauchamps, Schlegel and Alfieri. 'Par malheur,' he proceeds, 'les arguments les plus solides ne valent rien contre les faits,' and the facts show that the pastoral drama did impose itself on the taste of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in a most remarkable manner. It is that seeming paradox which has attracted various critics to the subject and for which they have sought an answer in a detailed study of the actual remains. Whether they have been successful in reading the riddle a later age will decide. Their works are there as witness to the interest with which they have pursued the search. Possibly in the case of France there may have been a yet keener interest added to the inquiry. 'L'Italie et l'Espagne,' says M. Marsan, 'n'ont pas seulement donné à la France quelques sujets, quelques manies intellectuelles. Elles lui ont révélé l'amour.' But of this question we are not prepared to judge.

W. W. Greg.

The Farce of Master Pierre Patelin. Composed by an Unknown Author about 1469. Englished by Richard Holbrook. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1905. 8vo. xxxviii + 116 pp.

Patelin appears to be enjoying a vogue amongst students of literature—a vogue, let it be hoped, due to its intrinsic merit as the high-water mark of fifteenth century French farce, as well as to the fascinating bibliographical problems which surround its numerous and, in all cases, rare early editions. In 1904 M. Émile Picot edited for the Société des Anciens Textes Français a facsimile reprint of what is probably the sixth known edition in order of antiquity, that of Marion Le Caron. In 1905 Mr S. F. G. Whitaker produced an English version, taken by a singular choice from the rather absurd eighteenth century adaptation of David Augustin De Brueys. In the same year is dated Mr Holbrook's translation, based more legitimately upon the original text, and accompanied by an interesting introduction upon the literary history of the piece and by facsimiles of the seven woodcuts from Pierre Levet's edition, which is either the second or the third of those preserved. Mr Holbrook is already favourably known by a careful article on 'Maître Patelin in the Gothic Editions by Pierre Levet and Germain Beneaut' in *Modern Philology* for June 1905. We do not feel sure whether either of his publications was prepared in

cognisance of M. Picot's work. Certainly his arguments for the priority of Levet's edition to that of Beneaut seem to us to fall before the fact, to which M. Picot calls attention, that Levet's fifth woodcut is a reversed copy of one of Beneaut's. There can be no doubt as to which is the original, for the process of reversing has brought the shepherd's crook into his left instead of his right hand, and the draper's pouch on to the right instead of the left side of his body.

As a translator, Mr Holbrook grapples bravely with the difficulties in his way; but unfortunately farce is made up of colloquialisms, and colloquialisms are not herbs easily capable of transplantation. We cannot imagine why any one should want to attempt the process. In the effort to be faithful Mr Holbrook sometimes succeeds in being wooden. 'Vous luy ressemblez du visage Par dieu comme droicte peincture' turns itself, one would think, naturally enough into 'Good heavens, you're the very picture of him!' But for Mr Holbrook it becomes 'I swear, your face is as like his as a regular painting.' We are bound to add that we resent the copious stage-directions with which, in decent brackets of course, he expounds the text. They remind us of Mr Bernard Shaw. Literary history cannot accept the statement that French farces came 'mysteriously into being as early as 1277, when a little piece called *The Boy and the Blind Man* was performed at Tournay.' No doubt it is the case that no earlier French farce is extant, but this is not what Mr Holbrook says.

E. K. Chambers.

The German Influence on Samuel Taylor Coleridge. An Abridgment of a Thesis presented to the University of Pennsylvania. By John Louis Haney. Philadelphia, 1902. 44 pp.

Students of comparative literature must acknowledge a debt of gratitude to anyone who undertakes to throw light on that side of Coleridge's mind which reflected German contemporary thought and brought it within the range of the ordinary Englishman. No one has a better knowledge of the materials necessary to such an undertaking than Dr Haney, as is evident from his valuable bibliography of Samuel Taylor Coleridge (Privately published, Philadelphia, Egerton Press, 1903), and in the present thesis on the German influence on Coleridge he has used them with care and judgment. Dr Haney contents himself with setting forth clearly the facts bearing on the question, without attempting to theorise as to the reason why certain German writers evidently exercised considerable influence on Coleridge, while others made little or no impression on his mind. There is little to be added which can increase our actual knowledge of the subject, at any rate, as regards its purely literary aspect, and the way is now open for anyone who will attempt to explain, for instance, why Coleridge found so much more to admire and therefore to imitate in Schiller than in Goethe, and why Lessing and probably a host of less famous men influenced him so much more strongly than either.

It is especially interesting to note the slightness of the impression made on Coleridge by Goethe. Even in his youth, when we might expect to see him carried away by the tide of Wertherism which swept over England, we find, as Dr Haney points out, but a passing allusion to the cause of the excitement in one of the Bristol lectures. The few love poems Coleridge wrote are without a hint of the morbid sentimentality of *Werther*; they have, indeed, more of the quality of Goethe's own lyrics. It is dangerous to lay much stress on parallel passages now-a-days, and Dr Haney abstains from quoting the very tempting ones on Coleridge's and Goethe's poetic method, if method it can be called, in which Coleridge, on the one hand, defends himself against an anticipated charge of egotism, urging that it is not egotism in him to sing his own sorrows 'to rid his heart of them' (Preface to the *Poems*, 1796), while Goethe, on the other, tells us that his works are all 'fragments of a great confession.' Dr Haney has pointed out in detail the relations between Coleridge and the young Schiller; he has gone thoroughly into the question of the *Wallenstein* translation and has mentioned the interpolations in the later version of *Osorio* (*Remorse*) due to its influence. Coleridge hoped to remove at some future date what he acknowledged as plagiarisms, and excused himself for them as follows: 'As to my thefts from Wallenstein they came on compulsion from the necessity of haste and do not lie on my conscience, being partly thefts from myself, and because I gave Schiller twenty for one I have taken, and in the meantime I hope they will lie snug' (Letter to Southey, Feb. 8, 1813). With the later careers of the two greatest German poets Coleridge had little sympathy. This is the more strange in the case of Schiller as both he and Coleridge had the same philosophical bias of mind, both were earnest students of Kant and were to some extent agreed as to what they considered the unsatisfactory points of the latter's system. Of the numerous passages which might be brought forward to show Coleridge's lack of appreciation, if not positive disapproval, of Goethe's religious and moral attitude, Dr Haney has mentioned enough to prove his point. Carlyle perhaps hit the mark when, in explaining the connection between the works of Goethe's youth and those of his maturity, he characterises the latter as the productions of 'a Believer who has been an Unbeliever, who believes, not by denying his Unbelief but by following it out, not by stopping short, still less by turning back in his inquiries, but by resolutely prosecuting them.' Coleridge, with all his philosophy, was not able to complete a consistent system, and he never attained to the heights whence Goethe obtained the large view of life he arrived at in his later years. Coleridge had also been an unbeliever, and had become a believer, but he did deny his unbelief and turn back in his inquiries, in fact, he became involved in that mysticism which Englishmen in the early nineteenth century condemned ignorantly as being common to the followers of Kant, but which Carlyle rightly declared was not characteristic of true Kantians or of the best German writers of the age (*On the State of German Literature*, 1827). Coleridge's knowledge of Kant, in spite of earnest study, was after all superficial;

he only grasped one side of the German spirit, and shared to some extent the insular prejudices which condemned the more advanced thought of Goethe and Schiller as immoral. This accounts probably for his lack of appreciation of them in their later development.

With regard to the influence of *Lenore* on the poems of 1797–98, Dr Haney is right in not pressing too closely the analogies which various critics have emphasised. The motive of the maiden and her ghostly lover is indeed common enough in English ballad poetry to render it unnecessary to attribute Coleridge's use of it to German influence. In reading *Christabel* and *The Ancient Mariner*, however, in conjunction with *Lenore*, there do seem to be echoes in them of certain details of the German poem; these make it probable that, though Bürger's ballad did not rouse Coleridge's enthusiasm as it did Lamb's, phrases and scenes of it may have lingered hauntingly in his mind and vaguely affected the portrayal of scenes and situations in his own poems without his being conscious of the influence.

Dr Haney explains Coleridge's disappointment in Klopstock as being due to the latter's 'ignorance of early German literature and uncompromising attitude towards Schiller and other romantic writers.' This is in accordance with Coleridge's own account in *Satyrane's Letters*. Setting aside the fact that neither poet could speak or understand the other's language—the conversation was carried on through the medium of Latin—which would be a serious hindrance to their forming any just idea of each other's opinions, it is possible that Klopstock's idealism was not of a kind to appeal to Coleridge: the religious views of the German poet would scarcely have satisfied the Coleridge of that date, who was far from orthodox and was even then on his way to Göttingen, the stronghold of rationalistic learning in Germany. It was just before leaving England for Germany that Coleridge had thought of translating the *Oberon* of Wieland, than whom a greater contrast to Klopstock could not be found, and as late as 1811 Coleridge still maintained that Wieland was Germany's best poet.

Coleridge's habit of making somewhat sweeping generalisations affords us ample opportunity of learning what he considered characteristic of German writers and therefore of gaining some clue as to what was likely to attract or repel him in German literature. In spite of his early admiration of Schiller's sublimity, he denies in later life all true sublimity to the Germans, saying their rule for it was to take something great and make it seem small in comparison with what they wished to elevate. Again, in his very unfavourable criticism of Gessner's prose idyll, *Der erste Schiffer*, he blames the author for attributing to one of his characters his own thoughts and feelings, and adds that 'this is indeed general in French and German poets—no French or German writer has a heart pure and simple enough for the metaphysics which a poet must have implicité if not explicité' (Letter to Sotheby, July 13, 1802). It is needless to multiply examples, they are to be found everywhere in his letters, *Table Talk*, and among the jottings of his notebooks.

Concerning the question of A. W. Schlegel's influence on Coleridge's Shakespearian criticism, about which there was controversy even in his own day, there is little more to be said. There are undoubtedly traces of his influence, but there is every reason to believe that Coleridge spoke truly when he affirmed that all the main ideas were his before he had seen Schlegel's works, which H. C. Robinson lent him after his course of lectures was already begun. It is hardly likely that Coleridge could have modified his views at that date to any extent without introducing a serious element of inconsistency into his criticism which we do not find there. In corroboration of this view it may be mentioned that Tieck, far from accusing Coleridge of plagiarism on behalf of his friend, said that though he could not speak highly of Coleridge's criticism in general, he had 'some glorious ideas about Shakespeare' (H. C. Robinson's *Diary*, selected by T. Sadler, 1872, I, p. 298). We find references in Coleridge's later letters to other German works from which he hoped to gain help in his literary criticism, but to these also he probably only had recourse for guidance in the working out of a thought already his. Apart from individual influence, Coleridge appreciated the German aesthetic theories. 'The Germans are good metaphysicians and critics,' he says, 'they proceed from principles previously laid down and thus, though they may be wrong, they cannot be self-contradictory' (*Specimens of the Table Talk of S. T. Coleridge*, by H. N. Coleridge, 1835, II, p. 345). He did not, however, follow their plan in his own criticism, the best of which consists of brilliant but disjointed remarks uttered practically extempore in his lectures.

While Dr Haney has treated exhaustively the literary side of the question, he has, evidently with intention, almost entirely ignored the influence of German philosophical thought on Coleridge. Coleridge's indebtedness to the German thinkers still awaits an investigator. Some amount of Kantian influence there undoubtedly was; numerous passages could be adduced to prove this, even if Coleridge had not admitted it, but anyone who seeks to set forth what this influence was, must bear in mind the admonition with which Coleridge says he would preface his metaphysical works: 'Once for all, read Kant, Fichte, etc., and then you will trace, or, if you are on the hunt, track me. Why then not acknowledge your obligations step by step? Because I could not do so in a multitude of glaring resemblances without a lie, for they had been mine, formed and full-formed, before I had ever heard of these writers, because to have fixed on the particular instances in which I have really been indebted to these writers would have been hard, if possible, to me who read for truth and self-satisfaction and not to make a book, and who always rejoiced and was jubilant when I found my own ideas well-expressed by others, and lastly, let me say, because (I am proud perhaps but) I seem to know that much of the matter remains my own and that the soul is mine. I fear not him for a critic who can confound a fellow-thinker with a compiler' (*Anima Poetae*, ed. by E. H. Coleridge, 1895, p. 106).

JOSEPHINE BURNE.

The Malone Society.

A society called the Malone Society has been formed with the object of providing materials for the study of the early English drama in the shape of reprints of the most authoritative early editions or manuscripts of old plays, and also of documents bearing on the history of the drama or the stage. The society was founded at a meeting held at University College, London, on July 30, at which Dr Gregory Foster presided. An organizing committee consisting of Messrs F. S. Boas, E. K. Chambers, W. W. Greg, R. B. McKerrow and A. W. Pollard, was appointed to draw up rules for the society, to receive applications for membership (at an annual subscription of one guinea), to put work in hand, and to report to a meeting of the society to be held early in November. At the present moment four plays are in hand, namely *Welth and Helth*, *St John the Evangelist*, Peele's *Battle of Alcazar*, and Greene's *Orlando Furioso*. Of these the first two were among the pieces, hitherto known only by name, which recently came to light in Ireland and were bought by the British Museum. It is hoped that all four will be ready for issue to members by the new year. Besides those already mentioned, the following have promised their support to the society: W. Bang, A. H. Bullen, Henry Bradley, Alois Brandl, G. B. Churchill, W. McNeile Dixon, Edward Dowden, Oliver Elton, Ewald Flügel, C. M. Gayley, Israel Gollancz, E. W. Gosse, H. F. Heath, C. H. Herford, W. P. Ker, Sidney Lee, J. M. Manly, Walter Raleigh, Percy Simpson, George Saintsbury, G. Gregory Smith, G. C. Moore Smith. All communications should be addressed to W. W. Greg, Park Lodge, Wimbledon, London, S.W.

NEW PUBLICATIONS.

June—August, 1906.

GENERAL.

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Royal Society of Literature. Transactions, Vol. xxvii. Part 1. London, Asher. 3*s.* net.

Schrader, O., Sprachvergleichung und Urgeschichte. 3. Aufl. ii. Jena, Costenoble. 4 M.

ROMANCE LANGUAGES.

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Lateinische Literaturdenkmäler des xv. und xvi. Jahrhunderts. Hrsg. von M. Hermann. xvii. Adrianus Roulerius, Stuarta tragoedia. Hrsg. von R. Woerner. xviii. Petrus Mosellanus, Paedologia. Hrsg. von H. Michel. Berlin, Weidmann. 1 M. 10 and 2 M.

Italian.

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Spanish.

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BOCCACCIO'S COMMENTARY ON THE 'DIVINA COMMEDIA.'

IN the summer of the year 1373 a petition was presented to the Signoria of Florence, on behalf of a number of Florentine citizens, praying that a lecturer might be appointed to expound publicly, in Florence, the book of Dante, 'librum Dantis qui vulgariter appellatur *el Dante*'—of that same Dante who, seventy-one years before, had been ignominiously expelled from Florence, and condemned by his fellow-citizens to be burned alive, should he fall into their hands—'igne comburatur sic quod moriatur[1].'

The petition in question, a copy of which is preserved in the Florentine *Libro delle Provvisioni* for the year 1373, is to the following effect:—

'Whereas divers citizens of Florence, being minded, as well for themselves and others their fellow-citizens, as for their posterity, to follow after virtue, are desirous of being instructed in the book of Dante, wherefrom, both to the shunning of vice, and to the acquisition of virtue, no less than in the ornaments of eloquence, even the unlearned may receive instruction; the said citizens humbly pray you, the worshipful Government of the People and Commonwealth of Florence, that you be pleased, at a fitting time, to provide and formally to determine, that a worthy and learned man, well versed in the knowledge of the poem aforesaid, shall be by you elected, for such term as you may appoint, being not longer than one year, to read the book which is commonly called *el Dante*, in the city of Florence, to all such as shall be desirous of hearing him, on consecutive days, not being holidays, and in consecutive lectures, as is customary in like cases; and with such salary as you may determine, not exceeding the sum of one hundred gold florins for the said year, and in such manner, and under such conditions, as may seem proper to you; and, further, that

[1] A clause in the sentence of March 10, 1302, pronounced against Dante and others, runs:—'Si quis predictorum ullo tempore in fortiam dicti Comunis pervenerit, talis perveniens igne comburatur sic quod moriatur.'

the said salary be paid to the said lecturer from the funds of the Commonwealth, in two terminal payments, to wit, one moiety about the end of the month of December, and the other moiety about the end of the month of April, such sum to be free of all deduction for taxes whatsoever...'; and so forth[1].

On the ninth of August following, the petition was taken into consideration by the Signoria, and having been favourably reported on, the question whether it should be approved was put to the vote by ballot, the ayes being indicated by black beans, the noes by white, after the usual Florentine custom. On the votes being counted, it was found that there were 186 black beans to 19 white, being a majority of 167 in favour of the appointment of a lecturer on Dante[2].

The voting having been secret, the names of the voters have not

[1] Milanesi, in his edition of Boccaccio's *Comento* (Vol. I. pp. i, ii), gives the text of the petition from the *Libro delle Provvisioni* as follows:—

'Pro parte quamplurium civium civitatis Florentie desiderantium tam pro se ipsis, quam pro aliis civibus aspirare desiderantibus ad virtutes, quam etiam pro eorum posteris et descendentibus, instrui in libro Dantis, ex quo tam in fuga vitiorum, quam in acquisitione virtutum, quam in ornatu eloquentie possunt etiam non grammatici informari; reverenter supplicatur vobis dominis Prioribus artium et Vexillifero Justitie populi et comunis Florentie, quatenus dignemini opportune providere et facere solempniter reformari, quod vos possitis eligere unum valentem et sapientem virum in huiusmodi poesie scientia bene doctum, pro eo tempore quo velitis, non maiore unius anni, ad legendum librum qui vulgariter appellatur *el Dante* in civitate Florentie, omnibus audire volentibus, continuatis diebus non feriatis, et per continuatas lectiones, ut in similibus fieri solet; et cum eo salario quo voletis, non maiore centum florenorum auri pro anno predicto, et cum modis, formis, articulis et tenoribus, de quibus vobis videbitur convenire. Et quod camerarii Camere comunis predicti...debeant dictum salarium dicto sic electo dare et solvere de pecunia dicti Comunis in duobus terminis sive paghis, videlicet medietatem circa finem mensis decembris, et reliquam medietatem circa finem mensis aprilis, absque ulla retentione gabelle; habita dumtaxat apodixa officii dominorum Priorum; et visa electione per vos facta de aliquo ad lecturam predictam et absque aliqua alia probatione vel fide fienda de predictis vel aliquo predictorum vel solempnitate aliqua observanda.'

[2] The record of the deliberation and voting of the Signoria upon the petition is preserved in the *Libro delle Provvisioni*:—

'Super qua quidem petitione...dicti domini Priores et Vexellifer habita invicem et una cum officio gonfaloneriorum Sotietatum populi et cum officio Duodecim bonorum virorum Comunis Florentie deliberatione solempni, et demum inter ipsos omnes in sufficienti numero congregatos in palatio populi Florentie, premisso et facto diligenti et secreto scruptineo et obtento partito ad fabas nigras et albas per vigintiocto ex eis pro utilitate Comunis eiusdem...deliberaverunt die VIIII mensis augusti anno dominice Incarnationis MCCCLXXIII, indictione XI, quod dicta petitio et omnia et singula in ea contenta, admictantur,...et observentur,...secundum petitionis eiusdem continentiam et tenorem....

'Item supradicto Preposito, modo et forma predictis proponente et partitum faciente inter dictos omnes consiliarios dicti consilii in ipso consilio presentes, quod cui placet et videtur suprascriptam quartam provisionem disponentem pro eligendo unum ad legendum librum Dantis, que sic incipit: "Pro parte quamplurium civium etc."...admicti et observari...et executioni mandari posse et debere,...det fabam nigram pro *sic*; et quod cui contrarium seu aliud videretur, det fabam pro *non*. Et ipsis fabis datis, recollectis, segregatis et numeratis...et ipsorum consiliariorum voluntatibus exquisitis ad fabas nigras et albas, ut moris est, repertum fuit CLXXXVI ex ipsis consiliariis repertis dedisse fabas nigras pro *sic*. Et sic secundum formam provisionis eiusdem obtentum, firmatum et reformatum fuit, non obstantibus reliquis XVIIII ex ipsis consiliariis repertis dedisse fabas albas in contrarium pro *non*.' (Milanesi, *op. cit.*, Vol. I. p. ii.)

been preserved, otherwise it might have been interesting to note to what families the dissentient minority of nineteen belonged. It is easy to conceive that the members of certain Florentine houses, whose forbears Dante has placed in Hell, or otherwise branded in the *Divina Commedia*, might be disinclined to vote for a proposal, which would make it admissible for the poet's scathing remarks to be repeated publicly, and perhaps commented on, before friends and foes, by an official lecturer in their own city. Members of the Adimari family, for instance, who had been Dante's near neighbours, and were his implacable enemies, could hardly be expected to relish the reference to their low origin in the *Paradiso*, and the denunciation of their house as

> L' oltracotata schiatta, che s' indraca
> Retro a chi fugge, ed a chi mostra il dente,
> O ver la borsa, com' agnel si placa—

'the insolent brood, who are as fierce as dragons to those who fly from them, but to those who show their teeth, or their purse, are as mild as lambs' (*Par.* xvi. 115—117); nor would they care to have their fellow-citizens reminded that of one of their clan (Filippo Argenti) Dante could exclaim

> Bontà non è che sua memoria fregi—
> (*Inf.* viii. 47);

and that another (Tegghiaio Aldobrandi) was consigned by the poet to the most disreputable circle of Hell, 'tra le anime più nere' (*Inf.* vi. 85; xvi. 41). For similar reasons we should be prepared to find among the opponents of the petition descendants of the Abati, of the Cerchi, of the Soldanieri, of the Chiaramontesi, of the Donati, and many others, whose memories are held up to execration in the *Commedia*, as enemies of their country, or as thieves and swindlers.

Within three weeks of the approval of the petition by the Signoria a lecturer was appointed in the person of 'Dominus Johannes de Certaldo, honorabilis civis florentinus.' The actual record of Boccaccio's appointment has not been preserved, the leaf of the *Libro delle Provvisioni* for the year 1373, containing the entry, having unfortunately been torn out at a comparatively recent date[1]. It was still intact in 1604, as appears from a statement by Filippo Valori in his *Termini di mezzo Rilievo e d' intera Dottrina* printed in that year[2], in which he says:—

'Il qual Boccaccio, oltre al dirsi Maestro dell' Eloquenza, fu stimato di tal dottrina, che e' potesse dichiarare quella di Dante, e perciò, l' anno

[1] See Milanesi, *op. cit.*, Vol. I. p. iii.
[2] See Gamba, *Serie dei Testi di Lingua*, quarta ed., p. 554, col. *a*, No. 2006.

mille trecento settanta tre, lo elesse la Città per Lettor pubblico, con salario di cento fiorini, che fu notabile; e vedesi questo nel Libro delle Provvisioni[1].'

The information, however, is supplied by another document, in the *Libro dell' Uscita della Camera,* preserved in the *Archivio di Stato di Firenze,* which records the payment to Boccaccio on December 31, 1373, of fifty gold florins, being the first instalment of his salary as lecturer on Dante. In this document it is stated in so many words that Boccaccio had been elected to the office on the twenty-fifth of the previous August, for the term of one year, at a salary of one hundred gold florins, which year commenced on the 18th of October following[2].

Boccaccio gave his first lecture on Sunday, the twenty-third of October[3], 1373, as we know from an entry in the diary of his fellow-citizen, Guido Monaldi, who, among the notable events of the year, records:—'Domenica a dì ventitrè di Ottobre cominciò in Firenze a leggere il Dante M. Giovanni Boccaccio.'

The place where Boccaccio delivered his lectures is stated by Gaetano Milanesi, in the preface to his edition of the *Comento* (no doubt on the authority of Tiraboschi[4]), to have been the Church of 'Santo Stefano al Ponte Vecchio,' that is, the Church of Santo Stefano and Santa Cecilia, close to the Via Por Santa Maria. Milanesi, however, whose statement has been frequently repeated by subsequent writers[5], is in error on this point. We have the evidence of one who himself

[1] See Manni, *Istoria del Decamerone,* p. 101.

[2] The text of the original document is given by Milanesi (*op. cit.*, p. iii) as follows:—'1373, 31 decembris.

'Domino Johanni de Certaldo honorabili civi florentino electo per dominos Priores Artium et Vexilliferum Justitie dicti populi et Comunis, die xxv mensis augusti proxime preteriti ad legendum librum qui vulgariter appellatur *il Dante,* in civitate Florentie, pro tempore et termino unius anni incepti die decimo ottavo mensis ottubris proxime preteriti et cum salario centum florenorum auri pro anno quolibet, solvendorum secundum formam reformationis consilii dicti populi et Comunis de hac materia loquentis, pro ipsius domini Johannis salario et paga primorum sex mensium dicti temporis, initiatis die decimo ottavo mensis ottubris proxime preteriti, pro dimidio totius dicti salarii, vigore electionis de eo facte, in summa florenorum quinquaginta auri.'

[3] Manni (*op. cit.*, p. 100), Tiraboschi (Vol. v. p. 744, ed. 1823), and Colomb de Batines (*Bibl. Dant.*, p. 646), following a corrupt text of Monaldi's *Diario,* give the date of Boccaccio's first lecture as October 3, instead of October 23. That the former date cannot be correct is proved by the statement in the document quoted above (note 2) that Boccaccio's year of office began on October 18, so that his lectures must have commenced after that date. Moreover, Monaldi records that Boccaccio began lecturing on a Sunday, whereas October 3, 1373, was a Monday. The correct date is given in the Prato (1835) edition of the *Diario.*

[4] Vol. v. p. 744, ed. 1823.

[5] For instance, by Landau in his *Giovanni Boccaccio, sein Leben und seine Werke* (p. 233); by Cochin in his *Études Italiennes* (p. 167); and by Baedeker in his *Northern Italy* (ed. 1895, p. 417). Gardner, on the other hand, in *The Story of Florence* correctly states (pp. 212, 346) that Boccaccio lectured in the Church of the Badia.

attended the lectures, to prove that Boccaccio delivered them, not in the Church of Santo Stefano near the Ponte Vecchio, but in a still more ancient church, next in antiquity to the Baptistery itself, namely the Church of the Badia, which was also dedicated to Saint Stephen[1]. Benvenuto da Imola, who, as I have pointed out elsewhere[2], took pride in describing himself as a pupil of Boccaccio, in his comment on Dante's reference to the chimes of the Badia, in the fifteenth canto of the *Paradiso*[3], observes:—

'In the inner circle of Florence is the abbey of the Benedictine monks, whose church is called Santo Stefano; where the chimes used to tell the hour more regularly than in any other church in the city. At the present time, however, it is sadly neglected and out of repair, as I noticed while I was attending the lectures of my revered master, Boccaccio of Certaldo, upon the *Divina Commedia*, which he delivered in this same church[4].'

Though Boccaccio was not more than sixty, he was an old man of his years, and infirm in health, when he began his lectures; and he can hardly have hoped to carry to a close this last great undertaking of a busy life. In fact, he did not live to complete more than a sixth part of his arduous task, his commentary breaking off abruptly at the seventeenth verse of the seventeenth canto of the *Inferno*. In the winter of 1373 he was attacked by a painful disease, pronounced by modern medical opinion to be diabetes[5], which gradually weakened him and ultimately proved fatal. He was also greatly shaken by the news, which reached him at Certaldo in the following autumn, of the death of his old friend and master Petrarch, who had died of apoplexy at Arquà on the eighteenth of the previous July[6]. In a letter written,

[1] Later this church was dedicated to Santa Maria, whence it is now entitled 'Santa Maria in Santo Stefano.' See Repetti, *Compendio Storico della Città di Firenze*, pp. 309, 350.

[2] See the article on *Benvenuto da Imola and his Commentary on the Divina Commedia* in my *Dante Studies and Researches* (pp. 218, 232 ff.).

[3] Lines 97–8.

[4] 'In interiori circulo est Abbatia monachorum sancti Benedicti, cuius ecclesia dicitur Sanctus Stephanus, ubi certius et ordinatius pulsabantur horae quam in aliqua alia ecclesia civitatis; quae tamen hodie est inordinata et neglecta, ut vidi, dum audirem venerabilem praeceptorem meum Boccacium de Certaldo legentem istum nobilem poetam in dicta ecclesia' (*Benevenuti de Rambaldi de Imola Comentum super Dantis Aldigherii Comoediam, Nunc primum integre in lucem editum, Sumptibus* Guilielmi Warren Vernon, *curante* Jacobo Philippo Lacaita. Vol. v. p. 145).

[5] See Cochin, *Études Italiennes: Boccace*, p. 167, n. 1.

[6] Monaldi, in his *Diario*, gives August 18 as the date of Petrarch's death: 'Venerdì a dì 18 d' Agosto morì M. Francesco Petrarca il gran Poeta ad Arquata presso Padova del male di gocciola.' This is certainly a mistake, as the news is mentioned in a letter of Coluccio Salutati to Benvenuto da Imola, which was written from Florence on the 25th of July, less than a week after the event. (See *Epistolario di Coluccio Salutati*, ed. Novati, Vol. I. p. 172.) It is somewhat strange that Boccaccio should not have heard

at the beginning of November, to Francescuolo da Brossano, Petrarch's son-in-law, on the receipt of the news, Boccaccio gives the following melancholy account of his own condition:—

'I was anxious to come to you at once, my dear brother, to mingle my tears with yours over our common loss, and at your side to breathe my laments to heaven, and say a last farewell over the tomb of our beloved father. But I must tell you that ten months ago, while I was lecturing in Florence on the *Commedia* of Dante, I was seized with illness, not so much of a dangerous nature, as long and wearisome. For four months past, at the entreaty of my friends, I have been in the hands, I will not say of physicians, but of quacks, who have not only increased my malady, but by doses and starvation have so upset my digestive organs, that I am reduced to a state of weakness hardly to be credited by any one who has not experienced it—my looks, however, tell their own tale to every one who sets eyes on me.

'Poor wretch that I am, you would find me sadly changed from what I was when you saw me in Venice! the skin of my body, once plump enough, is all shrivelled up, my colour has gone, my eyes are dim, and my hands tremble, while my knees are so unsteady, that so far from attempting to cross the Apennines, I could only just drag myself out of Florence with the help of friends to my farm here at Certaldo, where I remain, more dead than alive, torn with anxiety, and wasting away in idleness, not knowing what to do with myself, my sole hope of a cure being in the grace of God, who is able to overcome all diseases[1].'

After referring to Petrarch's burying-place at Arquà, and to his books, and to Petrarch's legacy to himself of fifty gold florins for the

of Petrarch's death until three months after it was known in Florence. It is evident from the tone of his reply to Francescuolo da Brossano, that the announcement of the latter was the first intimation he received of it.

[1] The original, which is printed by Corazzini in *Le Lettere Edite e Inedite di Messer Giovanni Boccaccio* (pp. 377 foll.), runs as follows:—

'Cum cuncta persolverem, amatissime frater, fuit animus venire illico daturus infortunio tuo meoque debitas lachrymas, tecumque in coelum ac superos questus meos, et ultimum penes bustum tanti patris vale dicturus. Verum jam decimus elapsus est mensis, postquam in patria publice legentem Comoediam Dantis magis longa, atque taediosa, quam discrimine aliquo dubia aegritudo oppressit, et dum per quatuor menses non dicam medicorum, sed fabulonum, amicorum impulsu consilia sequor, continue aucta est, et potionibus et jejuniis adeo a solito ordine exorbitare coacta est nutritiva virtus, ut in debilitatem devenerim fere inexperto incredibilem, cui satis fidem praestat aspectus meus videntibus. Heu mihi misero! Longe aliter tibi viderer, quam is, quem vidisti Venetiis. Exhausta totius pleni quondam corporis pellis est, immutatus color, hebetatus visus, titubant genua, et manus tremulae factae sunt, ex quo nedum superbos Apennini vertices, sed vix usque in avitum Certaldi agrum, amicorum quorundam suffragio, deductus e patria sum, ubi semivivus et anxius, ocio mareens, et mei ipsius incertus consisto, Dei solius, qui febribus imperare potest, medelam expectans et gratiam.'

purchase of a dressing-gown to keep him warm while at his studies on winter nights[1], Boccaccio concludes:—

'I am too ill to write more....Even this short letter has taken me nearly three whole days to write, save for occasional intervals of an hour or two for the repose of my exhausted frame[2].'

It seems probable, from what Boccaccio says in this mournful epistle, that he never resumed his lectures after the attack of illness to which he refers. How much of the fragment of commentary he has left was actually delivered as lectures it is impossible to say. That the matter was carefully prepared beforehand is obvious from the elaborate nature of the divisions, and from several other indications to which we shall recur later. It is not unreasonable to suppose that, though too ill to lecture publicly, Boccaccio may have occupied himself at Certaldo in continuing the commentary, in the hope of eventually resuming his course at Florence. But his end was not far off, and he died at Certaldo—it would almost seem pen in hand, for his last sentence is left unfinished—on December the twenty-first, 1375, rather more than a year after the above letter was written, having survived Petrarch, who was nine years his senior, by only eighteen months[3].

It was at one time supposed that Boccaccio, far from leaving a mere fragment, had written a complete commentary on the whole of the *Divina Commedia*; and a fourteenth century *Comento*[4], which in some MSS. is attributed to him, was accepted as his composition by the Academicians of the Crusca in the first edition (1612) of their *Vocabolario*, as well as in the two subsequent editions (1623 and 1691)[5], and also by several scholars in the eighteenth century, among whom was Mazzucchelli. It has been proved, however, by internal evidence, that this commentary cannot have been written by Boccaccio[6]; and, further, we have documentary evidence to prove that Boccaccio left no more than the fragment which has come down to us. It so happens that

[1] Petrarch's will is printed by Fracassetti in his *Francisci Petrarcae Epistolae De Rebus Familiaribus* (Vol. III. pp. 537 ff.). The bequest to Boccaccio runs as follows:—
'Johanni de Certaldo seu Boccatio, verecunde admodum tanto viro tam modicum, lego quinquaginta florenos auri de Florentia pro una veste hiemali ad studium lucubrationesque nocturnas.'

[2] 'Tres fere dies totos, paucis interpositis horis ad restaurandas parumper fessi corporis vires, in scribendo hanc brevem epistolam consumpsi.'

[3] The date of Boccaccio's death is given by Coluccio Salutati in his letter from Florence to Francescuolo da Brossano, written three days after the event. (See *Epistolario di Coluccio Salutati*, ed. Novati, Vol. I. p. 225.)

[4] This commentary, which is commonly known as *Il Falso Boccaccio*, was printed by Lord Vernon at Florence in 1846, under the title *Chiose sopra Dante*.

[5] See the *Lezione* of Luigi Rigoli prefixed to Lord Vernon's edition (pp. 12–14).

[6] See the *Lezione* of Rigoli already referred to.

after Boccaccio's death a dispute arose between two of his legatees as to the possession of the MS. of his *Comento*. By his will Boccaccio left the whole of his disposable property, with the exception of his library and a few specific bequests, to the children of his brother Jacopo Boccaccio, who was appointed one of the executors of the will. His library Boccaccio left to his confessor, Fra Martino da Signa, an Augustinian monk of the convent of Santo Spirito in Florence, on condition that after Fra Martino's death the books should become the property of the convent, to be there preserved in perpetuity for the use of the community[1]. When Boccaccio died, Fra Martino claimed the MS. of the *Comento* as part of the library. Jacopo, on the other hand, claimed it, on behalf of his children, as part and parcel of his brother's bequest to them. As the disputants could not come to an agreement, the matter was referred to the Consoli dell' Arte del Cambio, to whom the claims of the two parties were submitted in writing. Fra Martino, it appears, was willing, if the decision was in his favour, to allow Jacopo to have the MS., a sheet at a time, for the purpose of taking a copy of it, on the understanding that if the decision was in Jacopo's favour, the like facility should be granted to himself. This offer, however, appears to have been ignored by Jacopo, who claimed the MS. outright. In the particulars of Jacopo's claim is set down a detailed description of the MS. in question, which he valued at the lowest at eighteen gold florins. In this description it is stated in the clearest possible terms that the commentary was left incomplete by Boccaccio, and only comprised sixteen cantos of the *Commedia* and part of the seventeenth.

'Dinanzi a voi domando,' runs Jacopo's claim, 'ventiquattro quaderni, e quattordici quadernucci, tutti in carta di bambágia, non legati insieme, ma l' uno dall' altro diviso, d' uno iscritto, o vero isposizione sopra sedici Capitoli, e parte del diciassettesimo del Dante, il quale scritto il detto Messer Giovanni di Boccaccio non compiè...'

In the event, though that does not concern us here, it was adjudged

[1] Boccaccio's will is printed by Corazzini (*op. cit.*, pp. 425 ff.). The bequest of his library is in the following terms:—

'Item reliquit venerabili fratri Martino de Signa, Magistro in sacra theologia, conventus Sancti Spiritus Ordinis heremitarum Sancti Augustini, omnes suos libros, excepto Breviario dicti testatoris, cum ista condictione, quod dictus Magister Martinus possit uti dictis libris, et de eis exhibere copiam cui voluerit, donec vixerit, ad hoc ut ipse teneatur rogare Deum pro anima dicti testatoris, et tempore suae mortis debeat consignare dictos libros conventui fratrum Sancti Spiritus, sine aliqua diminutione, et debeant mieti in quodam armario dicti loci et ibidem debeant perpetuo remanere ad hoc ut quilibet de dicto conventu possit legere et studere super dictis libris, et ibi scribi facere modum et formam presentis testamenti et facere inventarium de dictis libris.'

by the Consoli that the MS. should be handed over to Jacopo and his co-executors, as forming part of Boccaccio's bequest to his brother's children[1]. Although, as we have seen, the fact that Boccaccio's commentary was incomplete, was unknown to the Academicians of the Crusca at the beginning of the seventeenth century[2]; yet this fact had been publicly remarked upon by Giovan Batista Gelli, in one of his lectures before the Florentine Academy, fifty years before. The learned Florentine hosier, who was well acquainted with Boccaccio's *Comento*, and utilized it in his own *Letture sopra la Commedia di Dante*, says, after quoting Boccaccio's note upon *Inferno* xvi. 73—75: 'E questo dice il Boccaccio; il quale non si truova, per essersi interposta a tal cosa la morte, che sia passato con la espositione sua questo luogo[3].' And even before this the fact had been stated by Giuseppe Betussi in the life of Boccaccio prefixed to his translation of the *De Genealogia Deorum*, which was first published in 1547. After giving a list of Boccaccio's works in the vulgar tongue, he adds: 'incominciò a commentare Latinamente la comedia di Dante, cioè una parte dell' Inferno[4] —which means, not as might appear at first sight, that Boccaccio wrote his commentary in Latin, but that he wrote it in plain language, that it was, in fact, of a popular character.

By the commentators who followed after Boccaccio his *Comento* was largely, one might almost say in some cases shamelessly, exploited. The Anonimo Fiorentino, for instance, whose commentary was probably written about thirty years after Boccaccio's death[5], borrowed wholesale from it, without once so much as mentioning Boccaccio's name. So far, indeed, was he from acknowledging his indebtedness, that in one case he actually indicates a false source for the information he has conveyed from Boccaccio[6]. Some idea of the nature of the Anonimo's borrowings may be gathered from the fact that the first three or four pages of the introductory portion of his commentary are almost entirely made up of

[1] The documents relating to this dispute are printed by Manni (*op. cit.*, pp. 104–6).

[2] See above, p. 103.

[3] *Lettura Settima* (1561), *Lezione Seconda*; ed. Negroni, Vol. II. p. 112. Also in his *Lettura Prima* (1553), *Lezione Prima* (Vol. I. p. 24), he says: 'Commentò il Boccaccio alcuni capitoli della prima cantica.'

[4] *Geneologia de gli Dei...di M. Giovanni Boccaccio...tradotti et adornati per Messer Giuseppe Betussi da Bassano. Aggiuntavi la Vita del Boccaccio.* In Vinegia, MDXLVII.

[5] The MS. from which Fanfani printed his edition of the commentary (Bologna, 1866–74, 3 vols.) professes to have been written in 1343, that is, thirty years before Boccaccio began his lectures in Florence. This date, which appears to have been added by a later hand, is obviously incorrect. The commentary is now usually assigned to the end of the fourteenth century or the beginning of the fifteenth. See Hegel, *Über den historischen Wert der älteren Dante-Commentare*, p. 59.

[6] See below, p. 106; and Hegel, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

excerpts from Boccaccio[1]; while the opening paragraph of the commentary proper is copied word for word from that of Boccaccio[2]. To give a detailed list of the passages thus appropriated would be beyond the scope of the present paper, but it may be of interest to draw attention to a few of the most noteworthy of them. The identification of Beatrice with the daughter of Folco Portinari and wife of Simone de' Bardi[3]; the allegory of the three ladies in the second canto[4]; the account of Celestine V[5]; the story of Paolo and Francesca[6]; the story of the lost cantos of the *Commedia*, which is told à propos of the opening words, 'Io dico seguitando,' of the eighth canto of the *Inferno*[7]; the accounts of the Furies[8], of the Fates[9], of the valley of Jehoshaphat[10], of the infernal rivers[11], and so on;—all these are conveyed, without acknowledgement, from the *Comento* of Boccaccio, as are a large number of the etymologies given by the Anonimo[12]. For his account of the origin of the Guelfs and Ghibellines the Anonimo refers to 'certe cronache tedesche,' which is a mere blind, inasmuch as the whole of it is taken direct from Boccaccio[13].

Benvenuto da Imola, who, as has already been mentioned, attended some of Boccaccio's lectures on the *Commedia*, and the first draft of whose commentary was completed in 1373[14], the year in which Boccaccio began his course, does not make so much use as might have been expected of the *Comento* of his 'venerabilis praeceptor.' He frequently quotes Boccaccio as his authority, but this is for the most part for

[1] Anon. Fior. I. 6–9: Bocc. I. 102, 97, 98, 92, 98–101, 84.
[2] Anon. Fior. I. 12: Bocc. I. 104.
[3] Anon. Fior. I. 42: Bocc. I. 224.
[4] Anon. Fior. I. 44: Bocc. I. 247.
[5] Anon. Fior. I. 69: Bocc. I. 265 ff.
[6] Anon. Fior. I. 155: Bocc. I. 476 ff.
[7] Anon. Fior. I. 204 ff.: Bocc. II. 130 ff.
[8] Anon. Fior. I. 220 ff.: Bocc. II. 195 ff.
[9] Anon. Fior. I. 232 ff.: Bocc. II. 177.
[10] Anon. Fior. I. 243–4: Bocc. II. 214.
[11] Anon. Fior. I. 339–40: Bocc. II. 400.
[12] The following may be quoted as instances, viz. *patriarca* (I. 101); *amazone* (I. 114); *Achille* (I. 152); *lugere, plorare, ululare*, &c. (I. 207–8); *Atropos* (I. 232); *arca, monimentum, sepulchrum*, &c. (I. 235); *calle* (I. 243); *cimitero* (I. 244); *arpia* (I. 316–17); *sentiero* (I. 318); *rigagno* (I. 347); &c. &c.
[13] Anon. Fior. I. 247 ff.: Bocc. II. 225 ff. (see above, p. 105). Other passages in which the Anonimo has borrowed from Boccaccio (some of which are noted by Hegel, *op. cit.*) are the accounts of Achilles (Anon. Fior. I. 152: Bocc. I. 467–8); of the various kinds of tombs (A. F. I. 235 ff.: Bocc. II. 188–9); of Pier delle Vigne (A. F. I. 323: Bocc. II. 335); of Brunetto Latino (A. F. I. 354: Bocc. II. 406); of Priscian (A. F. I. 361: Bocc. II. 420); of Gualdrada (in part) (A. F. I. 373–4: Bocc. II. 435); of Forlì (A. F. I. 378: Bocc. II. 450); of San Benedetto in Alpe (A. F. I. 378: Bocc. II. 451); and the notes, among others, on *note* (A. F. I. 379: Bocc. II. 453); and on the diver (A. F. I. 379–80: Bocc. II. 454); &c. &c.
[14] See my *Dante Studies and Researches*, p. 221.

information received from him by word of mouth[1]. Benvenuto was, however, certainly indebted to the *Comento* for some of his material—for his quotations from Tacitus[2], for instance, as well as for certain of his references to Homer[3], and to Pronapides[4]. He mentions Boccaccio's tirade against the gluttony of the Florentines, which occurs in the comment on the sixth canto of the *Inferno*[5]; and he reproduces, without acknowledgement, Boccaccio's account of the recovery of the lost cantos of the *Commedia*, already referred to[6]; and also his story of Gualdrada de' Ravignani and the Emperor Otto IV[7].

Francesco da Buti, who lectured on the *Divina Commedia* at Pisa[8] about the year 1385, was acquainted with, and made use of, Boccaccio's *Comento*. He refers to it as his authority on three occasions[9], but these by no means represent the whole extent of his indebtedness. Buti's commentary, to which he himself gave the title of *Lettura*, as having originally been composed in the form of lectures, was revised and prepared for publication at the instance of certain of his friends and admirers, as he tells us in his *Proemio*[10]. It was finally completed in 1395, just twenty years after Boccaccio's death[11]. Like the Anonimo Fiorentino, Buti has borrowed very freely from Boccaccio in his introductory chapter, five or six pages of which are conveyed direct from his predecessor's *Comento*[12], including a formal recantation beforehand of any unorthodox or unacceptable opinions which might happen to have escaped him in the course of his lectures[13]. A considerable portion of Buti's commentary on the first canto of the *Inferno* is also taken from Boccaccio[14], as are to some extent his accounts of the nine Muses[15], of

[1] See my *Index of Authors quoted by Benvenuto da Imola in his Commentary on the Divina Commedia* (printed in *Report XIX of the Cambridge, U.S.A., Dante Society*), s. v. *Boccaccius*; also *Dante Studies and Researches*, pp. 232 ff., and p. 215, n. 4.

[2] See *Index of Authors quoted by Benvenuto*, s. v. *Tacitus*.

[3] See *Index of Authors quoted by Benvenuto*, s. v. *Homerus*; and *Dante Studies and Researches*, p. 214, n. 2.

[4] See *Index of Authors quoted by Benvenuto*, s. v. *Pronapides*.

[5] Benv. I. 227: Bocc. II. 32 ff.

[6] Benv. I. 273–4: Bocc. II. 131.

[7] Benv. I. 538: Bocc. II. 435–6; Boccaccio tells this story (which he also includes in his *De Mulieribus Claris*, Cap. CI.) on the authority of Coppo di Borghese Domenichi. It is given by Villani, with some difference of detail, in his *Cronica*, v. 37.

[8] Pisa, following the example of Florence and Bologna, was the third city in Italy to institute public lectures on the *Divina Commedia*.

[9] *Commento di Francesco da Buti sopra la Divina Comedia* (Pisa, 1858–62), Vol. I. pp. 7, 357, 367.

[10] Vol. I. pp. 4–5.

[11] See the colophon, Vol. III. p. 871. A passage in the commentary on Canto VI of the *Paradiso* was written in 1393; see Vol. III. p. 163.

[12] Buti, I. 5–11: Bocc. I. 81–83, 86–91.

[13] Buti, I. 11: Bocc. I. 91.

[14] Buti, I. 14–15, 22–3, 27–8, 30, 32–3, 34, 38: Bocc. I. 154, 104–109, 112–14, 117.

[15] Buti, I. 59–60: Bocc. I. 205–7.

Pier delle Vigne[1], of the statue of Mars at Florence[2], of Chiarentana[3], the 'giubetto[4],' and so forth[5]. It is noteworthy that Buti does not repeat Boccaccio's story of the lost cantos, which is reproduced both by Benvenuto da Imola and by the Anonimo Fiorentino.

Of the fifteenth century commentators only one, namely Landino, seems to have had any acquaintance with Boccaccio's *Comento*. Giovanni da Serravalle (1416–1417) avowedly for the most part copies Benvenuto da Imola, as does Stefano Talice da Ricaldone (c. 1474); while Giuniforto delli Bargigi (c. 1440) chiefly follows the Pisan Buti.

Landino's commentary, which is the classical commentary of the Renaissance, and has been reprinted more often probably than any other, was first published in 1481, in the famous first Florentine edition of the *Divina Commedia*, with the designs of Sandro Botticelli[6]. Landino made considerable use of the *Comento* of Boccaccio, whom he describes as 'huomo, et per dottrina, et per costumi, et per essere propinquo a' tempi di Dante, degno di fede[7].' He quotes the *Comento* directly by name eight times[8], and avails himself of it, without naming it, on numerous other occasions, chiefly for the explanation of contemporary and historical allusions. For instance, his notes on Ciacco, Filippo Argenti, Farinata degli Uberti, the Emperor Frederick II, 'il Cardinale,' Azzolino, Pier delle Vigne, Gualdrada, Guidoguerra, Jacopo Rusticucci, Guglielmo Borsiere, are all reproduced more or less closely from Boccaccio[9]; to whom he was also indebted for much of his classical information, as in his accounts of Phlegyas, Medusa, Minos, the Minotaur, the Centaurs, etc.[10]

Alessandro Vellutello of Lucca, the first of the sixteenth century commentators, whose 'nova espositione' was published at Venice in 1544, does not appear to have made any use whatever of Boccaccio's *Comento*. As is well known, he poured contempt on Boccaccio's *Vita*

[1] Buti, I. 357: Bocc. II. 335.
[2] Buti, I. 367: Bocc. II. 352–3.
[3] Buti, I. 404: Bocc. II. 404.
[4] Buti, I. 367: Bocc. II. 357.
[5] Cf. also Buti, I. 60: Bocc. I. 209; Buti, I. 106: Bocc. I. 277–8; Buti, I. 140: Bocc. I. 402.
[6] A copy of this edition, with the full complement (nineteen) of Botticelli's designs of the *Inferno*, was sold at the Carmichael sale at Sotheby's (No. 270) on March 24, 1903, for £1000.
[7] Venice edition of 1578, fol. 48.
[8] Ed. 1578, foll. 38, 48 (three times), 50, 78, 85[1], 90.
[9] Ed. 1578, foll. 38, 50, 63, 63[1]–4, 72[1], 75[1], 88[1], 89.
[10] Ed. 1578, foll. 49, 55[1], 69, 71, &c. Other passages in which Landino has utilized Boccaccio are the comments on the statue of Mars, and Attila (foll. 77[1]), Chiarentana, Brunetto Latino (fol. 84), Priscian, Francesco d' Accorso (fol. 86[1]), Monte Veso (fol. 89[1]), and San Benedetto (fol. 90). The note on *lonza* (fol. 4), which ostensibly is from Boccaccio's *Comento*, in reality comes from Benvenuto da Imola (I. 35), to whom it was communicated by Boccaccio.

di Dante, as a mere romance 'tutta piena d' amorosi sospiri e lagrime[1],' and it is quite possible that he had an equally low opinion of the lectures on the *Commedia*.

Bernardo Daniello, likewise of Lucca, whose commentary was published posthumously at Venice in 1568, seems, like Vellutello, to have ignored Boccaccio altogether so far as his *Comento* is concerned[2].

The Florentine Gelli[3], on the other hand, who lectured on the *Divina Commedia* before the Florentine Academy at various times between 1541 and 1561, quotes Boccaccio's *Comento* in his *Letture*[4] more than sixty times—oftener than he quotes any other commentator, except Landino[5]. Unlike his predecessors Gelli makes a point of always naming his authority. He introduces his quotations usually by some such formula as 'secondo che scrive il Boccaccio,' or 'il Boccaccio dice,' or 'così espone il Boccaccio.' Frequently he gives long extracts in Boccaccio's own words, 'le parole sue proprie[6].' Although as a rule he quotes the *Comento* at first hand, on one occasion at least (for the story of the lost cantos) he takes his account at second hand from Landino[7]. He does not always accept Boccaccio's conclusions[8]; but, on the other hand, he more than once declares that Boccaccio has explained a particular passage so well that he cannot do better than repeat what he has said:—'Non saprei io per me trovarci miglior esposizione che

[1] See the opening sentence of the *Vita e Costumi del Poeta*, prefixed to Vellutello's commentary.

[2] Daniello frequently quotes the *Decameron* and other works of Boccaccio; see, for instance, pp. 2, 5, 23, 41, 43, 49, 56, 110, 427, &c. &c. The fact that Boccaccio's *Comento* had not yet been printed may perhaps help to account for its being ignored by Vellutello and Daniello. Gelli says (*Lettura Seconda*, *Lezione Decima*, Vol. I. p. 295, ed. Negroni) that Vellutello follows Boccaccio in his interpretation of *Inferno* iv. 69, but there is nothing to show that he is following Boccaccio any more than one of the other commentators who give the same explanation. Cf. also Gelli, *Lettura Quinta*, *Lezione Sesta*, Vol. I. p. 653, ed. Negroni.

[3] Gelli is best known perhaps as the author of *I Capricci del Bottaio*, which was translated into English by William Barker in 1568, under the title of *The Fearfull Fansies of the Florentine Couper*.

[4] In his various *Letture* (twelve in all) Gelli commented on *Inferno* i–xxv, and on portions of *Inferno* xxvi, *Purgatorio* xvi, xxvii, and *Paradiso* xxvi.

[5] That is to say so far as the first sixteen cantos of the *Inferno* are concerned, on which alone Boccaccio commented. Landino is quoted altogether about ninety times, Benvenuto da Imola about seventy, Vellutello about thirty, Pietro di Dante about twenty-five, Buti about a dozen, the Ottimo Comento, and Jacopo della Lana, six each.

[6] Gelli, I. 329: Bocc. I. 444; Gelli, I. 672: Bocc. II. 260; other instances of verbatim quotations are Gelli, I. 544: Bocc. II. 163; Gelli, I. 610–11: Bocc. II. 224; Gelli, I. 634: Bocc. II. 245; Gelli, I. 653: Bocc. II. 252–3; Gelli, II. 6: Bocc. II. 272; Gelli, II. 41: Bocc. II. 319; in this last passage Gelli's editor, Negroni, has attributed to Boccaccio a sentence which belongs to Gelli—the quotation marks should end at 'le mosche,' not at 'tale ufizio.'

[7] Gelli, I. 471.

[8] See, for instance, I. 113, 382, 543, 609; II. 68–9.

quella del Boccaccio' (I. 295); again—'Conoscendo di non poter far tal cosa meglio che si facesse in questo luogo il Boccaccio, vi reciterò le parole sue proprie' (I. 329).

Gelli, in fact, was the first to appreciate the *Comento* at its true value. He realized that Boccaccio was in a position to know accurately the history of many of the people and incidents referred to by Dante[1]; and he recognized especially the importance of his interpretations of antiquated and obscure words and phrases[2]. But at the same time he was critic enough to perceive that Boccaccio's information was not always to be accepted without examination. He distrusts, for instance, his explanation of the tides[3]; while of his account of the origin of the Guelfs and Ghibellines he says roundly 'non può esser in modo alcuno vera[4].'

Considering the high reputation which Boccaccio's *Comento* enjoyed from the very first, down to the middle of the sixteenth century (as is evidenced by the manner in which, as we have seen, it was utilized successively by Benvenuto da Imola, Francesco da Buti, the Anonimo Fiorentino, Landino, and Gelli), it is somewhat remarkable that there should be only four MSS. of it in existence. Of Boccaccio's own MS., which gave rise to the dispute referred to above[5], every trace apparently has now been lost. Of the four existing MSS., all of which are preserved in Florence—three in the Magliabechiana, one in the Riccardiana—none claims to date earlier than the fifteenth century. Even of these only three are complete, the whole of the first portion of the fourth MS., as far as the beginning of the commentary on the fifth canto, having disappeared[6].

It is also remarkable, and not altogether to the credit of the Florentines, that the lectures in which their forefathers showed such keen interest should have been left unpublished for more than two centuries and a half after the invention of printing. Only four editions of the *Comento* have been printed. The *editio princeps* was issued at Naples (with the false imprint of Florence) in 1724, in two volumes 8vo., which form the fifth and sixth volumes of the collection of *Opere Volgari*

[1] See, for instance, I. 383.

[2] For example, *adonare* (Gelli, I. 379); *agognare* (I. 376); *a pruovo* (II. 17); *brollo* (II. 105); *bufera* (I. 329); *gentile* (I. 349); *lai* (I. 334); *putto* (II. 34); *rabbuffare* (I. 423); *roste* (II. 41); *stipa* (I. 634); *strozza* (I. 466); *tenzonare* (I. 532).

[3] Gelli, II. 68–9.

[4] Gelli, I. 609.

[5] See above, p. 104.

[6] See Milanesi's edition of the *Comento*, Vol. I. p. v.

in Prosa del Boccaccio published by Lorenzo Ciccarelli[1]. This edition, which was printed from a single (and, as it was then thought, unique) MS., in spite of its once high reputation, is of very little critical value, owing to the serious errors of transcription and of the press with which it abounds[2]. At the end of the second volume are appended the *Annotazioni* of Anton Maria Salvini, to whose exertions it was largely due that the *Comento* was at last printed with Boccaccio's other works.

More than a hundred years later, in 1831–2, a second edition, based upon the same single MS., was published at Florence, by Ignazio Moutier, in three volumes 8vo., which form volumes X—XII of his collected edition of the *Opere Volgari di Giovanni Boccaccio*. Moutier claims to have corrected several hundreds of errors and omissions in the text of the *editio princeps*[3], but his own, though undoubtedly a great advance upon that of his predecessor, is still far from being perfect, chiefly owing to the fact that the single MS. upon which he had to rely is itself not by any means free from errors[4].

In 1844 Fraticelli published an edition at Florence—the third—in three diminutive volumes in a popular series. The text of this edition has no independent value whatever, being avowedly no more than a cheap reprint of that of Moutier.

About twenty years later the first attempt at anything like a critical text was made by Gaetano Milanesi, whose edition in two volumes was published at Florence by Le Monnier in 1863. Milanesi had the advantage over previous editors in that three more MSS. of the *Comento* had been discovered since their editions were published. By the aid of these MSS. he was enabled to produce a greatly improved text, but, as he himself admits in his *Avvertimento*, there are still many passages in which the reading is obviously more or less corrupt[5].

Milanesi was the first to divide the *Comento* into *Lezioni*, a convenient arrangement which is found in two out of the four MSS., including the one made use of by Ciccarelli and by Moutier[6], though they for some reason or other chose to ignore it. It is doubtful how far these *Lezioni*, which are sixty in number, represent so many actual lectures delivered by Boccaccio; for not only are they entirely devoid of any of the conventional formulae which a speaker addressing a public audience

[1] Ciccarelli anagrammatized his name into Cellenio Zacclori, under which form his signature is appended to the dedication of the edition. In some copies the *Comento* volumes are numbered independently of the collection to which they belong.

[2] See Moutier's remarks, and the list of *errata* given by him, on pp. vi–xvi of Vol. I. of his edition.

[3] *Op. cit.*, Vol. I. p. vi.

[4] See Milanesi, *op. cit.*, I. v.

[5] See Milanesi, *op. cit.*, I. vi.

[6] See Milanesi, *loc. cit.*

naturally employs when breaking off or resuming his discourse, but they also vary very greatly in length. The shortest of them, for instance, the forty-third, occupies only four pages in Milanesi's edition, while the longest, the eighteenth, fills no less than forty[1],—a disproportion which would hardly be tolerable in the case of actual lectures.

It may be noted here that in no part of the *Comento,* as it has come down to us, is there much trace of the peculiar conditions under which it was composed. Boccaccio did not readily, it seems, exchange the rôle of author for that of professor. If it were not for a single passage at the beginning of his opening lecture, in which he directly addresses his audience as 'Voi, signori fiorentini[2],' it would be difficult to gather from the work itself that it was composed originally for public delivery[3]. That the lectures were carefully thought out and prepared beforehand is evident, not only from the plan of the work, but also from the many cases in which points are reserved for future discussion. For example at the mention of Mantua in his second *Lezione* Boccaccio says: 'd' essa si tratterà nel ventesimo canto di questo pienamente'; and of Dardanus in the fourth: 'del quale più distesamente diremo appresso nel quarto canto'; and so on[4]. In like manner he several times refers forward to the commentary on the *Purgatorio*[5], and to that on the *Paradiso*[6], both of which, it is clear, were already to some extent planned, though, as we know, neither of them was actually begun. In one instance a memorandum has been preserved, in the text, of a passage which was to be further elaborated, but which was eventually left unaltered[7].

The plan of Boccaccio's commentary was obviously borrowed from Dante himself. Just as Dante in the *Convivio* divides and subdivides each of his canzoni into principal and secondary parts[8], and expounds in turn first the *litterale sentenza* and then the *allegoria* of each of the

[1] Milanesi, II. 266–70; and I. 427–67.

[2] Milanesi, I. 81.

[3] It is significant that Boccaccio not infrequently uses *scrivere* instead of *parlare* in speaking of his lectures. For instance, in *Lez.* 2: 'Perciocchè d' essa si tratterà nel XX canto di questo pienamente, qui non curo di più scriverne' (I. 120); again, in *Lez.* 20: 'Quantunque questa materia d' amore venga pienamente a dovere essere trattata nel secondo libro di questo volume, nel canto XVII; nondimeno...alcuna cosa qui ne scriverò' (I. 480); and in *Lez.* 52: 'Perciocchè di Catone pienamente si scriverà nel primo canto del Purgatorio, qui a più dirne non mi distendo' (II. 366).

[4] Milanesi, I. 120 and 143; for other references in the case of the *Inferno*, see I. 442; II. 25, 170, 389, 429, 455–6.

[5] Five times; see I. 480; II. 6, 46, 57, 366.

[6] Three times; see II. 57, 177, 224.

[7] See I. 465: '(Qui del modo del vegghiare, e come di qua il recarono i Marsiliesi, e donde vennero le vigilie).'

[8] Cf. *Convivio*, ii. 2, ll. 58 ff.; 8, ll. 6 ff.; iii. 1, ll. 100 ff.; 2, ll. 1 ff., &c. &c.

poems under discussion[1]; so, in the case of the *Commedia*, Boccaccio divides and subdivides the poem and its parts[2], and then proceeds to give first the literal and afterwards the allegorical exposition of each canto[3].

Boccaccio opens his first lecture with a modest reference to his own insufficiency for the task which has been laid upon him; and he throws in an adroit compliment to his audience, whom he describes as 'uomini d' alto intendimento e di mirabile perspicacità, come universalmente solete esser voi, signori fiorentini[4].' After quoting (through the medium of Chalcidius[5]) what Plato says in the *Timaeus* as to the propriety of calling upon the deity before entering upon any serious undertaking, he proceeds to invoke the divine aid on his own behalf. This he does, not in scriptural phrase, nor in any form of Christian prayer, but, strangely enough, in the words of Anchises in the second *Aeneid*:—

> Jupiter omnipotens, precibus si flecteris ullis,
> Aspice nos: hoc tantum: et, si pietate meremur,
> Da deinde auxilium, pater![6]

Boccaccio's excuse for this extraordinary combination of piety and paganism is that as the matter of which he is about to treat is of a poetical nature, so it is appropriate that his invocation of God's aid should be in poetical form.

He then goes on to examine into the three points which he says it is customary to determine with regard to every learned work, namely of what sort and how many are the causes of it, what is its title, and to what department of philosophy it belongs. In his determination of these questions Boccaccio quotes freely, though without mentioning it by name, from the so-called dedicatory letter of Dante to Can Grande della Scala[7], as to the authenticity of which there is a wide difference of opinion among Dantists, the tendency at present, especially in Italy, being to regard it as a falsification[8].

[1] Cf. *Convivio*, ii. 1, ll. 119 ff.: 'Io adunque...sopra ciascuna canzone ragionerò prima la litterale sentenza, e appresso di quella ragionerò la sua allegoria.'

[2] Cf. *Comento*, i. 103.

[3] Cf. *Comento*, i. 106.

[4] *Comento*, i. 81.

[5] Boccaccio does not mention Chalcidius, but the passage he quotes is from the version of Chalcidius, in which form the *Timaeus* was familiar to mediaeval students before the revival of Greek letters. Boccaccio's quotation, as printed, differs from the received text of the passage in Chalcidius, in reading *hominibus mos est* for *omnibus*; and *raptemur* (altered by Milanesi into *rapiemur*) for *raptamur*.

[6] *Aeneid* ii. 689–91.

[7] Compare *Comento*, i. 82–5 with Epist. x. §§ 8, 9, 15, 10.

[8] On the whole question, see the article by Dr Moore, in his *Studies in Dante*, iii. 284–369, where the authenticity of the letter is strongly upheld.

In discussing the title of the work Boccaccio has some interesting remarks as to the inappropriateness, to his thinking, of the term *Comedy* applied by Dante to his poem. Comedy, he says, as everybody knows, deals with low subjects and with persons of low degree; whereas Dante's poem treats of persons of eminence, and of singular and notable deeds both wicked and virtuous, as well as of the effects of penitence, the ways of the angels, and the essence of the Deity. The style of Comedy, again, is humble and low, as befits the subject-matter; whereas the style of the poem is ornate and sublime, notwithstanding it is written in the vulgar tongue, while if Dante had written it in Latin it would have been still more sublime and dignified[1].

Dante's name, which he discusses in connection with the title of the poem, Boccaccio takes to be, not an abbreviated form of Durante, as it is now commonly explained, but a term significant of the poet's bounty —Dante, the giver—in placing the treasures of his mind freely at the disposal of all who may be inclined to partake of them. He insists that Dante introduces his own name, not once, but twice into the *Commedia*[2]; firstly, by the mouth of Beatrice in the well-known passage in the thirtieth canto of the *Purgatorio*[3]; secondly, by the mouth of Adam in the twenty-sixth canto of the *Paradiso*[4]. With regard to the latter passage, he argues that it was especially appropriate for Dante to be named by Adam, to whom God assigned the task of naming all created things. The majority of commentators, however, differ from Boccaccio on this point, holding that *Da te*, not *Dante*, is the correct reading of the line in question.

After deciding that the *Commedia* comes under the head of moral philosophy, Boccaccio proposes to deal with the subject of Hell. But before entering upon this part of his task, he once more apologizes for the feebleness of his powers; and, further, in case he shall be betrayed through ignorance or inadvertency into saying anything that may be contrary to the catholic faith, he then and there formally recants and abjures the same, beforehand, and humbly submits himself in respect thereof to the correction of Holy Church[5].

Having thus discounted the possibility of ecclesiastical censure Boccaccio launches out into a lengthy disquisition upon the matter in hand, namely Hell—whether there be a Hell, whether there be more than one, in what part of the world it is situated, from what point it is

[1] *Comento*, I. 84–5.
[2] *Comento*, I. 90–1.
[3] *Purg.* xxx. 55.
[4] *Par.* xxvi. 103 ff.
[5] *Comento*, I. 91.

approached, what is its shape and dimension, what purpose it serves, and lastly, whether it is called by any name other than *Infernus*. To the discussion of these points he devotes what amounts to some ten printed pages in Milanesi's edition of the commentary[1], at least half of the matter being translated word for word from a previous work of his own, the *De Genealogia Deorum*—a practice in which, as will be shown later, Boccaccio indulged to an extent hitherto quite unsuspected[2].

The subject of Hell being disposed of, there yet remains, before we arrive at the commentary proper, the question why Dante wrote his poem in the vulgar tongue instead of in Latin. This question, says Boccaccio, much exercised the *literati* of the day. They could not understand how a man of deep learning like Dante could bring himself to compose such an important work in the *volgare*. Boccaccio's explanation, which is practically identical with what he had already said in his *Vita di Dante*[3], is as follows:—'Dante was certainly a very learned man, especially in poetry, and desirous of fame, as most of us are. He began his poem in Latin, thus:

> Ultima regna canam fluido contermina mundo,
> Spiritibus quae lata patent, quae praemia solvunt,
> Pro meritis cuicumque suis, etc.

But when he had made some progress with it in this fashion he decided to change his style. For he saw that liberal and philosophical studies were altogether abandoned by the princes and great men who used to honour and render famous poets and their works. And he reflected that if Virgil and the other Latins were almost entirely neglected, he could not expect a better fate for his own work. He therefore made up his mind to suit his poem, at least so far as concerned its outside form, to the understandings of the present generation, who, if by chance they wish to see any book, and it happens to be written in Latin, straightway have it translated into the vernacular. From which he concluded that if his poem were written in the vulgar tongue it might meet with favour; whereas if it were in Latin it would be cold-shouldered. So abandoning his Latin lines he wrote the *Commedia* in vernacular rimes, as we see[4].'

Boccaccio now at last, after this lengthy prologue, enters upon the subject proper of his *lezioni*, namely the systematic exposition of the letter and the allegory of Dante's poem. His commentary, like most of the early commentaries, is of very unequal value. Some of the

[1] *Comento*, I. 92 ff.
[2] See below, p. 117.
[3] Ed. Milanesi, pp. 64–5.
[4] *Comento*, I. 102–3.

information supplied is of the most elementary, not to say childish, description; while, on the other hand, a large portion of the work displays real erudition and scholarship, and is the outcome of considerable research. This curious mixture of learning and simplicity makes one wonder for what sort of audience Boccaccio's lectures were intended. In the terms of the petition the lecturer was to expound the *Commedia* for the benefit of 'etiam non grammatici[1].' But it is difficult to conceive that any audience of Florentines, even of Florentine children, however ignorant of Latin, let alone the 'uomini d' alto intendimento e di mirabile perspicacità,' to whom Boccaccio refers in such flattering terms in his opening lecture[2], could require to be informed, as Boccaccio carefully informs them, that an oar, for instance, is 'a long thick piece of wood, with which the boatman propels his boat, and guides and directs it from one place to another[3]'; or that an anchor is 'an instrument of iron, which has at one end several grapples, and at the other a ring by which it is attached to a rope whereby it is let down to the bottom of the sea[4]'; or that 'every ship has three principal parts, of which one is called the bows, which is sharp and narrow, because it is in front and has to cut the water; the second is called the poop, and is behind, where the steersman stands to work the tiller, by means of which, according as it is moved to one side or the other, the ship is made to go where the steersman wishes; while the third part is called the keel, which is the bottom of the ship, and lies between the bows and the stern[5]'; and so on. Boccaccio, however, seems to have acted on the principle that it is the business of an expositor to expound, and consequently he lets his audience off nothing—not even the familiar Bible stories of Adam and Eve, Cain and Abel, Noah and the Ark, Pharaoh's daughter and Moses, and such like[6]. In fact, like certain modern editors, he is determined to empty his note-books, whether the information is wanted or no. For example, at the first mention of Aeneas he says, 'Although most people know well enough who Aeneas was, nevertheless I shall speak of him at length when we come to the fourth canto of this book[7]'—a promise, it is hardly necessary to say, which is amply fulfilled[8].

Some not too friendly critic appears to have reproached Boccaccio for lecturing on the *Commedia* in this way to the vulgar herd, declaring that it was a degradation of Dante's lofty genius to endeavour to bring

[1] See above, p. 98, note 1.
[2] *Comento*, I. 81.
[3] *Comento*, I. 286.
[4] *Comento*, II. 454.
[5] *Comento*, II. 139.
[6] *Comento*, I. 304 ff.
[7] *Comento*, I. 218.
[8] *Comento*, I. 347–50.

it down to the level of the lay comprehension. Boccaccio replied to these strictures in a sonnet, in which he practically pleads guilty; but he urges in extenuation that he was induced to undertake the task not only by the advice of his friends, ill-judged though it may have been; but also under the pressure of the 'res angusta domi,' which made the salary attached to the lectureship an important consideration[1]. In another sonnet, written apparently about the same time, he complains bitterly that if he has done wrong in revealing to the 'profanum vulgus' the secrets of the Muses, he has at any rate paid dearly for his misdemeanour, inasmuch as Apollo has taken cruel vengeance upon his unfortunate body, not a limb of which but is ailing in consequence[2].

It was no doubt partly this failing of his health and energies which led Boccaccio to eke out his commentary with copious extracts from previous writings of his own—an expedient to which reference has already been made[3]. The works which he has laid under contribution in this way are the *De Casibus Virorum Illustrium*[4], the *De Claris Mulieribus*[5], the *De Montibus, Sylvis, Lacubus, etc.*[6], and the *De Genealogia Deorum*. From the last of these, which was completed in the same year in which his lectures were begun, he has borrowed something like a ninth part of the material of the *Comento*, amounting to more than a hundred printed pages in Milanesi's edition[7]. It is characteristic of the literary methods of the day that Boccaccio does not once refer to any one of these books by name, nor does he anywhere hint that he is making use of old material.

To make even a rapid survey of the numerous other authorities, classical and mediaeval, quoted by Boccaccio in the course of his *Comento*, would be beyond the scope of the present paper. I may, however, touch upon one or two points in this connection which are of especial interest from the humanistic point of view. Boccaccio's references to two particular authors entitle his commentary to an important place in the history of letters to which, merely as a com-

[1] *Opere*, ed. Moutier, Vol. xvi. Son. viii.

[2] *Opere*, ed. Moutier, Vol. xvi. Son. vii.

[3] See above, p. 115.

[4] *Comento*, i. 177 (for Sardanapalus), 180 (Jugurtha, Antiochus), 362 (Tarquinius Superbus), 435 (Minos); ii. 18 (Simonides, Astyages), 36 (Xerxes), 65 (Croesus).

[5] *Comento*, i. 143–4 (for Camilla), 214 (Ilia), 359 (Penthesilea), 361 (Lavinia), 362 (Lucretia), 367 (Julia), 437 (Europa), 448–51 (Semiramis), 451–6 (Dido), 457–62 (Cleopatra), 463–6 (Helen), 498 (Zenobia); ii. 190 (Artemisia), 435 (Gualdrada).

[6] *Comento*, i. 479 (for Po); ii. 51 ('faro di Messina'), 149 ('lago'), 184 (Rhone), 220 ('Tireno'), 368 ('Abila e Setta'), 385 ('stagno'), 448–9 (Monte Veso, Appennino).

[7] *Comento*, i. 92–5, 99–101, 123–6, 128–35, 198, 201–8, 211, 214–5, 225–9, 259, 270–1, 272, 284–5, 293, 296, 322–3, 342–50, 359–61, 390–4, 433–8, 442, 451, 467–73, 480–2, 495; ii. 3, 41, 47–8, 72, 75–8, 83–90, 136–8, 170–1, 177–82, 195–202, 203–6, 268–9, 273–4, 283–6, 308–9, 314, 315, 318–22, 327, 328, 337, 392, 393, 399–400, 427.

mentary on the *Divina Commedia*, it could never have aspired. In this work and in the *De Genealogia Deorum* occur for the first time in mediaeval literature quotations from the works of Tacitus, and from the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* of Homer. The story of how Boccaccio came to have access to Homer through the medium of a Latin translation, and of how this translation came to be made, has already been told elsewhere[1]. Boccaccio's quotations from Homer in the *Comento* are six in number,—four from the *Iliad*[2], and two from the *Odyssey*[3],—one being a verbatim quotation from the Latin translation just mentioned[4], of which the original MS. is now preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris[5]. Previous to the making of this translation Homer had only been accessible to mediaeval writers, as to Dante, for instance, in the miserable compendium of the *Iliad* in Latin hexameters known as *Pindarus Thebanus*; or in such meagre quotations as could be found in the Latin translations of Aristotle, or in the works of Cicero[6].

Tacitus was known by name to several mediaeval writers before the time of Boccaccio. He is mentioned, for instance, by John of Salisbury (d. 1180) in the *Policraticus* (viii. 18), as well as by Peter of Blois (d. 1200) and Vincent of Beauvais (d. 1264)[7]. But to Boccaccio belongs the distinction of being the first author of modern times to show any actual acquaintance with his works[8]. In what way the works of Tacitus came into the hands of Boccaccio is a matter of conjecture. That he had in his own possession a copy of some portion of them is certain;

[1] 'Homer in Dante and in Benvenuto da Imola,' in my *Dante Studies and Researches*, pp. 204 ff.

[2] *Comento*, I. 347, 462, 467, 511.

[3] *Comento*, I. 97, 466.

[4] *Comento*, I. 511; the passage (from *Iliad*, XIV. 214–17), as printed by Milanesi, runs as follows: 'Et a pectoribus solvit ceston cingulum varium, ubi sibi voluptaria omnia ordinata erant, ubi inerat amicitia, atque cupido, atque facundia, blanditiae quae furant intellectum, studiose licet scientium etc.' For *furant* (an impossible reading) Ciccarelli and Moutier read *furatae*. In the MS. of the translation in the Bibliothèque Nationale (MS. Lat. 7881), which originally belonged to Petrarch and was executed for him, the passage runs as follows:—'Et a pectoribus solvit ceston cingulum varium, ubi sibi voluntaria omnia facta erant, Ubi certe amicitia atque cupido atque collocutio Blanditiaeque furate sunt sensum studiose set scientium.' This same passage is quoted by Boccaccio, together with the original Greek, in the third book of his *De Genealogia Deorum*, where the text of the translation agrees neither with that of the *Comento* nor that of the MS.: 'Et a pectoribus solvit ceston cingulum vanum, ubi sibi voluntaria omnia ordinata erant, ubi certe amicitia atque cupido atque facundia, blanditiaeque furate mentem licet studiose scientium' (ed. 1532, p. 71).

[5] See previous note.

[6] See my *Dante Studies and Researches*, pp. 204–5.

[7] See Hortis, *Opere Latine del Boccaccio*, p. 425.

[8] St Jerome mentions the works of Tacitus; and a monk of Fulda in the ninth century, one Ruodolphus, quotes a passage which has been identified in the *Annals*; but from that time until he was brought to light again by Boccaccio, Tacitus seems to have been entirely lost sight of.

for in a letter written by him from Naples in January 1371, to Niccolò da Montefalcone, he urgently entreats his correspondent to return to him, for fear of its getting further damaged, his MS. of Tacitus, which Niccolò had taken away:—'Quaternum quem asportasti Cornelii Taciti queso saltem mittas ne laborem meum frustravèris et libro deformitatem ampliorem addideris[1].' From the expression 'ne laborem meum frustraveris' it has been concluded that this MS. was a copy, which Boccaccio had made with his own hands. But the fact that he refers to the MS. as being already damaged, points rather to its being an ancient MS. Hortis[2] plausibly conjectures that Boccaccio may have managed to secure possession of this MS. when he paid his famous visit to the monastery of Monte Cassino, of which he gave the well-known account recorded by Benvenuto da Imola. It will be remembered that he found the library quite unprotected, and the books lying about in a state of utter neglect[3]. The MS. of Tacitus, now preserved in the Laurentian Library at Florence, belonged originally to Monte Cassino, and it is not at all improbable that it was Boccaccio who rescued it from the careless keeping of the unworthy Benedictine monks.

Boccaccio seems to have been acquainted with the twelfth to the sixteenth books of the *Annals*, and the second and third books of the *Histories*. In his *Comento* he utilizes chapters 56—7 and 69—70 of the fifteenth book of the *Annals*, for his account of the death of Lucan, 'secondochè Cornelio Tacito scrive[4]'; and books twelve to fifteen of the same work, for his account of the career and death of Seneca, his indebtedness in this latter instance amounting to five and a half printed pages in Milanesi's edition[5]. It may be noted that Boccaccio nowhere employs the title *Annals*, with which we are familiar, but uses the term *Storie*—'secondochè scrive Cornelio Tacito nel decimo quinto libro delle sue Storie'—even when he is actually quoting from the *Annals*[6]. It is hardly necessary to add that the fact of Boccaccio's having been acquainted with at least five books of the *Annals* of Tacitus effectually disposes of the theory, put forward some thirty years ago, that the *Annals* were forged in Italy in the fifteenth century by Poggio Bracciolini[7]. Of the *Histories*, so far as I can discover, Boccaccio

[1] This letter is printed, in a corrupt form, by Corazzini in his *Lettere di M. Giovanni Boccaccio* (p. 259). The corrections in the passage quoted in the text are due to Hortis (*Opere Latine del Boccaccio*, p. 425, n. 4).

[2] Hortis, *loc. cit.*

[3] See my *Dante Studies and Researches*, pp. 233–4.

[4] *Comento*, I. 333–4.

[5] *Comento*, I. 397–402.

[6] *Comento*, I. 400.

[7] See introduction to Furneaux's edition of the *Annals* (Oxford, 1884).

made no use in his *Comento*, although he appears to have utilized the second and third books to some extent in a previous work, the *De Claris Mulieribus*[1]. To his intimate friend and literary correspondent, Petrarch, Boccaccio singularly enough does not seem to have communicated his discovery of the MS. of Tacitus—at any rate there is no allusion to the subject in such of their correspondence as has been preserved; nor does Petrarch anywhere mention the name of Tacitus, which in his case may be accepted as almost conclusive proof that he had no acquaintance with Tacitus' works[2].

I may mention, in conclusion, that I hope on some future occasion to deal further with this interesting subject of the authors utilized or quoted by Boccaccio in his Commentary on the *Divina Commedia*, on which I have barely touched in the present article.

PAGET TOYNBEE.

[1] See Hortis, *loc. cit.* See also P. de Nolhac, *Boccace et Tacite* (in *Mélanges* de l'Ecole de Rome, tom. XII. 1892).

[2] See P. de Nolhac, *Pétrarque et l'humanisme*, pp. 266–7; and *Boccace et Tacite*, pp. 6–8.

TWO NOTES ON MILTON.

I. The 'Ode on the Nativity' and the Poems of Mantuan.

The Holofernes of *Love's Labour's Lost* exclaims (4. 2. 101): 'Old Mantuan, old Mantuan! who understandeth thee not loves thee not.' Whether to understand John Baptist Mantuan, otherwise named Spagnuoli, be to love him, I shall not here attempt to decide. What I am concerned with is the question whether to read him is to understand Milton better, or at least to perceive that in Mantuan he may have found suggestions for one of his early poems, the ode *On the Morning of Christ's Nativity.*

As every one knows, the Hymn begins with the words,

> It was the winter wild.

In England Christmas falls in the winter, it is true, but did it in Judæa? We need not consider what season it was when, according to probability, Christ was actually born; with this Milton would not have troubled himself. But how could he, who must have known that at the generally accepted date Palestine was hardly covered with snow, have so described it in his poem? Here Mantuan may have been his warrant. According to him, not only was it a northern winter in Greece and Italy, but also on the plain of Troy and in the cities of Assyria; hardly did Arabia and Syene escape. This is shown by the following passage (1. 70a, b; I quote from the edition of 1513, slightly normalizing the use of capitals, punctuation, etc.):

> Deciderant umbræ nemorum; sine crinibus omnis
> Arbor erat, nidosque avium monstrabat inanes.
> Stabat apex Lydi gelida nive candidus Hemi,
> Thaurus Hyperboreos albenti vertice flatus
> Accipiens, hyemem Assyrias spargebat in urbes.
> Mænalon et Rhodopen, Pholon, Erymanthon, et Ossam,
> Idæas rupes Apœninique cacumen
> Exuerat frigus penetrans Aquilonis acuti;
> Siccaque brumales urebant arva pruinæ.
> Astrictique citos undis glacialibus amnes
> Perdiderant cursus, et clausæ vitrea Nymphæ
> Tecta subintrabant, tepidis ubi Mulciber antris

Conditus hybernat; sic sanguine tinctus Enypheus
Ausonio, sic Thrax Pindo qui labitur Hæbrus,
Populiferque Padus, Lacedæmoniusque Eurotas,
Et Tanais gelida celerem qui dividit undam
Hyrgis aqua, Scythicusque Hypanis, Xanthus Simoisque.
Vix Arabes horti, calidæ vix arva Syenes,
Vix ager Hesperidum, vix ipse virebat Hymetus.

It is even possible that Shakespeare may have had in mind the first two lines of this passage when he wrote (*Sonn.* 73. 1—4):

That time of year thou mayest in me behold
When yellow leaves, or none, or few, do hang
Upon those boughs which shake against the cold,
Bare ruined choirs, where late the sweet birds sang.

With stanza 4,

No war, or battle's sound,
Was heard the world around, etc.,

may be compared Mantuan, *Parth.* 3. 1 (*Opera* 1. 67 b);

Jam mare, jam tellus Italo deterrita Marte,
Cæsaris imperium Romanaque jura ferebat.
Pax erat, et domitum late placaverat orbem
Tuta quies; nusquam litui, non arma sonabant,
Et sua bifrontem ducebant limina Janum.
Nudus in herbisecam redigebat Martia falcem
Arma faber; segnes fodiebant ensibus agros.

The peace of Augustus was over sea and land, the temple of Janus was closed, neither trumpets nor weapons resounded. Spears were beaten into pruning-hooks.

Milton's (stanza 5)

While birds of calm sit brooding on the charmed wave

is paralleled by Mantuan's (1. 70 b)

Halcyonis fœtæ variis nova pignora pennis
Jam tolli audebant, primosque efferre volatus.

Mantuan's companion-picture (1. 70 b) to Milton's stanza 6 owes something to the Apocryphal Wisdom, 18. 14, 15:

Attulerat medio nox alta silentia cursu,
Astraque per tenebras tremulis ardentia flammis
Lustrabant dubio frigentem lumine terram.

Here, it will be observed, the earth is again described as frozen, while the wintry cold is once more alluded to in 1. 69 b:

Et libera pulsis
Undique flamma micat fumis, spelæa ligato
Claudit, et hybernum prohibet velamine frigus.

With the beginning of Milton's stanza 11 (cf. stanza 7) may be compared Mantuan's (l. 73 a)

> Nam jubar immensum cœlo deduxerat infans,
> Illustrique die noctis disjecerat umbram.

What in Milton is prophetically asserted (stanza 14),

> And Hell itself will pass away,
> And leave her dolorous mansions to the peering day,

is in Mantuan but a fear (l. 236 a):

> Fuit tremor usque in Tartara, et umbræ
> Tartareæ timuere omnes ne terra dehiscens
> Concideret, Stygiasque domos ostenderet astris.

The 'Old Dragon' of stanza 18 may be of remote kinship, at least, with Mantuan's (l. 72 a):

> Sunt quoque qui summum traxisse per æthera caudam
> Fronte sub ardenti mersa Phlegethonte Draconem
> Commemorent.

Cf. Rev. 12. 4.

The theme of stanzas 19–21 seems to have been a favourite with Mantuan. Thus (l. 236 b):

> Ex adytis pulsi lemures per inania terræ
> Spiramenta viam celeres iniere sub ima
> Tartara, secretisque diu latuere cavernis.

And again (l. 193 a):

> Jam nova progenies cœlo descenderat alto
> Et prodire alius sæclorum incœperat ordo;
> Dii Phlegethontæi, regnata tyrannide longa,
> Et maria et terras animis cœlestibus ægre
> Cedere compulsi, errabant deserta latentes
> Per nemora extremi gelido sub cardine mundi.

Elsewhere Jupiter speaks in a council of the heathen deities, and in his address (l. 197 a) we may discover possible hints for Milton's stanzas above referred to:

> At neque nos tempus soli prævidimus illud;
> Prævidere alii lemures quoque. Barbara Memphis
> Novit, et Ægyptus, sua quæ simulacra per illos
> Est mirata dies; aliquo quasi territa casu
> Et tremere et mœsto pallorem ducere vultu.
> Nec velut ante loqui, mutisque silentia templis
> Observasse, novos testantia signa tumultus.
> Ipsa quoque armatas acies concurrere cœlo
> Audiit Alpinos trepidans Germania motus.
> Scimus et ex gelidis tepidum manasse cruorem

Fontibus, et noctu medias ululasse per urbes
Pane truces agitante lupos rabiemque ferente.
Sic fuit omnibus hoc tam formidabile tempus
Spiritibus, tam horrenda lues nostratibus umbris;
Ut Stygio quæ in cœno habitant cœli astra perosæ
Indociles larvæ, postquam didicere voluta
Sæcula dena quater, vicinaque tempora gentis
Christidos, ad Plutonem ierint sibi tuta rogantes
Septa, ratæ ad Stygias bella ingressura lacunas.
Indoluere igitur merito regna omnia quando
Communi commune malum mœrore dolendum est.

The resemblance of what follows (Mantuan 1. 79 a, b) to the close of stanza 23, and stanza 24, is even more marked:

Parthenices primo ingressu simulachra per omnem
Legimus Ægyptum subita cecidisse ruina,
Et collisa solo. Jacuit resupinus Anubis,
Cornibus auratis solio ruit Isis ab alto,
Occidit extemplo luctu quæsitus Osiris;
Sicut cum trepidi per cæca silentia fures
Noctis eunt taciti, vigilantque ad furta repente,
Si densas abigat lux improvisa tenebras,
Diffugiunt, lucemque timent, ceduntque diei.
Attoniti vates illis responsa diebus
Nulla dabant, stabatque oculos immotus aruspex.
Sparsa sacerdotes timido legere deorum
Frusta ministerio; cœpit tunc perdere vires
Cæca superstitio, verique exurgere Patris
Cultus, et occulto superum latrea favore.

Even Milton's 'unshowered grass' might have been suggested—though he could not have been ignorant of the classic authorities on the subject—by Mantuan's (1. 81 a)

Ægyptus pluviam nescit.....

II. 'Namancos.'

The early commentators on Milton seem to have been much in the dark regarding the 'Namancos' of *Lycidas* 162, and it cannot be said that even down to the present the word has been fully understood. As long ago as 1785 Thomas Warton, in his edition of the minor poems, appears to have regarded the name as 'Namanco,' for, though his text has 'Namancos,' in his note he three times quotes the line as

Looks toward Namanco's and Bayona's hold.

Todd, in his first edition (1801), did little better. After remarking that the name had been unnoticed by the commentators, he conjectured that Milton might have been thinking of Numantia (the ancient capital of the Celtiberian province, as yet unidentified, but near Tarragona, in

the north-east of Spain), having perhaps found it so spelled in romance, like Milton's 'Damasco' for Damascus. This would seem as though he, too, like Warton, was thinking of 'Namanco' rather than of 'Namancos.'

At the time of publishing his first edition, Todd was apparently unacquainted with a communication to the *Monthly Magazine, or British Register* for June 1, 1800 (Vol. 9. p. 424), signed 'D. F.,' the writer of which also identifies Namancos with Numantia, adding: 'I am aware that this place was on the opposite side to Bayona; but let it be remembered that they are no common eyes which look upon the scene; that they are no less than those of an archangel.' Todd's attention was probably called to this by the memoranda consigned to the proprietors of his edition—according to his own statement in his edition of 1809 (I. vi)—by Dunster in 1805. In his note on the line Todd incorporated Dunster's criticism on the unlucky correspondent, to the effect that 'Milton scarcely meant to make his archangel look two ways at once.' However, Dunster fell into the open trap which the correspondent had unwittingly left for him, by accepting the identification with Numantia, and, in order to obviate any strabismal possibilities, suggesting that 'Bayona' was the French Bayonne. These hypotheses were, however, dismissed by Todd in the edition of 1809, where he says that he has been 'directed by a literary friend to Mercator's Atlas, edit. fol. Amst. 1623, and again in 1636; and in the map of Galicia, near the point Cape Finisterre, the desired place occurs thus written, "*Namancos T.*" In this map the castle of *Bayona* makes a very conspicuous figure. Milton most probably recollected this geographical description of the Spanish province.'

To the foregoing, Jerram, in his edition of *Lycidas* (1874), adds: 'Namáncos also appears in Ojea's map of Galicia (1650), but seems to have been afterwards omitted, as it is not found in Nolin's map (1762), nor in that of Lopez (1784), nor in the *Atlas Nacional de España* of 1838.'

Verity, in his edition of *Lycidas*, with other poems (1898), has the following:

'I cannot find it in an earlier issue dated 1606, nor is it given by either Ortelius or Heylyn. It appears also to have been omitted in all the maps published after the middle of the century. It is worth noting that the 1636 ed. of *Mercator* was the first printed in England, the letter-press being translated; and it may have been from this recent source that Milton, writing *Lycidas* in 1637, first became acquainted with the existence of Namancos. Even there Namancos is not marked

in the general map of Spain, but only in the special one which illustrates the "Description of Galicia," II. 347.

'Formerly it was usual in designing large atlases to mark important places not only by name, but also by some illustration of a castle or fortress etc. Now in the edition just mentioned Namancos figures as *Namancos T* (i.e. *Turris*), which suggests that it was not a town but a fortress; it may afterwards have been destroyed and this would account for its disappearance from later maps. Also it is illustrated by a conspicuous drawing of a tower: did this catch Milton's eye?'

Verity adds: 'In an earlier edition of his *Milton* Todd had suggested that the reference was to Numantia, "Bayona's hold" being identified with the French Bayonne. But geographically this was impossible.' Not all of these statements, as will be seen on examination, are accurate.

In the light of what precedes, the following facts will be of interest to the student of Milton:

1. The form 'Namancos' is wrong; the name is 'Nemancos.' The error is due to Ojea (about 1604), and was perpetuated by succeeding cartographers.

2. No tower of that name is known to have existed, the 'T.' of Ojea's map standing for 'Tierra.'

3. The name Nemancos has been known since the early part of the 10th century.

4. Nemancos is the present name of one of the 36 archpresbyteries—an Englishman might call them rural deaneries—into which the archbishopric of Santiago de Compostella is divided. It contains 29 parishes and 11 dependencies (*filiales*, or *anexas*). Nemancos does not now designate, and never has designated, so far as I have been able to ascertain, any town, village, or fortress, but rather a territory or administrative district, roughly corresponding in extent to a county.

These statements will now be taken up in order, and the proofs adduced.

1. 'Nemancos' is the form found in the *Diccionario Enciclopedico Hispano-Americano*, Barcelona, 1887–99, and in Madoz, *Diccionario Geografico*, etc., *de España*, Madrid, 1845–50, wherever there is occasion for incidental mention of the word, as under the names of individual parishes belonging to this deanery, etc. An express statement to the same effect is made in a letter from Señor Andres Martinez Salazar, Keeper of the Archives at Coruna, who has been obliging enough, through the kind intermediation of my colleague, Professor Henry

R. Lang, the scholar in Spanish and Portuguese literature, to answer certain questions addressed to him, and thus to render an important service. As to the spelling 'Namancos,' this is due, I believe, wherever it is found, to simple copying from Ojea's map, published for the first time, so far as I have been able to discover, in the Ortelius of 1606. The Ortelius of 1609, in the library of Yale University, has it as an inset whole-sheet map, numbered 18 (a duplicate number), and bearing Ojea's name and a dedication by him in the upper left-hand corner. Here occurs 'Namancos T.,' but without the drawing of a tower. According to Mr George C. Hurlbut, Librarian of the American Geographical Society, and my friend and former pupil, Professor Frederick M. Padelford, of the State University of Washington, 'Namancos T.' is found in the Mercator of 1613, 1619, 1630, 1633, and 1636, in the Blaeu of 1635 and 1667, the Jansson of 1657–8, and the De Wit of ca. 1650–60, and of ca. 1746. The Visscher (Ottens) of 1708 has 'Namancos,' instead of 'Namancos T.' On the other hand, it is not found in Mercator before 1613, in the Jansson of 1628, 1630, and 1651, the Goos of 1662, nor the Theuniss of 1686 (cf. Jerram's statement above).

With respect to Ojea, who must be held ultimately responsible for Milton's misspelling, we are sufficiently informed by Florez, *España Sagrada* 17. 181–2 (cf. Pardiñas, *Varones Ilustres de Galicia*). According to this authority, Hernando Oxea [Ojea] was born in Orense, became a Dominican friar, went to Mexico as missionary, and returned to Spain in 1601. Before 1604 he was again in Mexico, for in that year he wrote thence to the Dean and Chapter of Santiago de Compostella that he was preparing a general history of the kingdom of Galicia, which, whether completed or not, was never published. For this work he executed his map of Galicia, which is included in the large atlases (*que anda en los Atlas grandes*). However, as he says in his *Historia del Apostol* [*Santiago*], fol. 355, he was not satisfied with this map, and intended to correct it. He returned to Spain a second time in 1614, published the *Historia del Apostol* in 1615, and then finished his journeyings by going back to Mexico in August of the latter year. He wrote a book on the advent, life, and miracles of Christ, published at Medina del Campo in 1602, and a treatise on the nobility of Spain, which never saw the light. The statement regarding his dissatisfaction with the map is significant, in view of his misspelling of 'Nemancos.'

2. My colleague, Dr Rudolph Schevill, who at my instance has examined thirty or forty maps of Spain in the British Museum, from

1600 A.D. onward for a century or more, reports that in two or three of these he found 'Tierra de Namancos,' or 'Namancos tierra.' This accords with the fact that the Ortelius map of 1609 contains similar designations, such as 'Tierra de Lunia,' 'Tierra de Miranda.'

3. A document of the year 915 (Florez, *España Sagrada* 19. 349 ff.; Lopez Ferreiro, *Hist. de la Iglesia de Santiago* 2. 37) assigns to the diocese of Iria (later Santiago) 'Trasancos, Labacencos, *Nemancos*, Celticos, and Carnota.' Another document, referring to the year 930 (the MS. itself is of the 13th or 14th century), has: 'In *Nemancos* Scta Eolalia in Donobria,' i.e. modern Dumbria (Ferreiro, as above, 2. 2). From a bull of Alexander III, A.D. 1178, we have: 'Villa de Ceia in *Nemanciis*' (Ferreiro 4. 52). 'Nemancos' seems to be formed like 'Trasancos' (see above), 'Aviancos,' 'Bisancos,' 'Duancos,' etc.

4. The thirty-six archpresbyteries are named by the *Diccionario Enciclopedico* (18. 650), under the archbishopric of Santiago. These correspond, according to Señor Salazar, to ancient geographical divisions. The names of the parishes and their dependencies are from the same authority, and were extracted by him from the official Guide of the archbishopric. As the full name of the parish includes that of the patron saint, e.g. Santa Maria de Finisterre, the name of the saint will follow in parenthesis the local name. They are as follows: Baiñas (Antolin), Bardullas (Juan), Berdeogas (Santiago), Brens (Eulalia), Bujantes (Pedro), Castrelo (Martin), Cée (Maria), Cereijo (Santiago), Corcubion (Marcos), Concieiro (Pedro), Dumbria (Eulalia), Duyo (Vicente), Ezaro (Eugenia), Finisterre (Maria), Javiña (Maria), Lires (Esteban), Moraime (Julian), Morquintian (Maria), Mugia (Maria), O (Maria), Olveira (Martin), Ozon (Martin), Pereiriña (Julian), Puerto (Pedro), Salqueiros (Mamed), Sardiñeiro (Juan), Toba (Adrian), Touriñan (Martin), Villastose (Cipriano). The dependencies, with the names of the parishes to which they are attached, are: Ameijenda (Santiago), to Brens; Berdoyas (Pedro), to Berdeogas; Buituron (Tirso), to Bardullas; Caberta (Felix), to Concieiro; Carantoña (Martin), to Puerto; Carnes (Cristobal), to Cereijo; Duyo (Martin), to Duyo; Frije (Leocadia), to Bardullas; Nemiña (Cristobal), to Touriñan; Olveiroa (Santiago), to Olveira; Redonda (Pedro), to Corcubion.

ALBERT S. COOK.

THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE 'ISLE SONNANTE.'

II.

Isle des Ferremens.

Chapter IX.

This short episode of the Island of Tools forms the subject of chapter ix. It is decidedly dull, but that is no reason for rejecting Rabelais's authorship. The germ of the idea is to be found in a few lines of chapter 24 of *Les navigations de Panurge* which correspond fairly closely to the sentence *Autres portans daguenets...cousteaux* of the *Isle Sonnante*. This in itself is in favour of Rabelais's authorship, for he is indebted to this chap-book, the origin of which is still an unsolved problem, for certain ideas which furnish matter for the Fourth Books (*pays Lanternois*, *isle Farouche* and the *Andouilles*, death of Bringuenarilles). Marty-Laveaux takes exception to the phrase *sabouré l'estomac* as borrowed from an earlier book, but as Rabelais has used it not only once but twice, there is no reason why he should not have used it a third time.

The three texts shew certain differences in the lists of implements, and the *Isle Sonnante* naturally makes nonsense of some of the words. But the most instructive difference is in the last word, which the *Isle Sonnante* writes *braueté*, the MS. *braiguette*, and the 1564 text *manière*. The last reading is palpably wrong, as it misses the point completely, and there is no doubt that the true reading is *brayette*, an older form of *braguette*, which is correctly given by the *Isle Sonnante* in chapter xi.

Isle de Cassade.

Chapter X.

The first thing to be noticed is that at the beginning of the chapter the 1564 editor has introduced the words *Delaissans l'isle*

des Ferrements, continuasmes nostre chemin in order to connect this episode with the preceding one. But neither in the MS., which begins with *Le jour ensuivant,* nor in the *Isle Sonnante,* which has *Le tiers iour subsequent,* is there any trace of this connexion. The Island of Cheating is hardly more interesting or more productive of action than that of Tools. The account of it is at first a satire on satire and on the superstitious practices of gamblers, and then breaks off into ridicule of relics. A short passage is borrowed from Plutarch's treatise *On Isis and Osiris,* a favourite with Rabelais, and there are references to the Florentine manuscript of the Pandects, and to the handkerchief of St Veronica in St Peter's at Rome, which point to the authorship of some one who had visited these places. The following mistakes of the *Isle Sonnante* are worth noticing; *Scyttes* for *Syrtes, pendettes* for *pandectes,* and *Apollo par as, Diane par deux, Minerve par sept* for *Apollo, Pallas, Diane,* &c.

Les Chats fourrés.

Chapter XI.

Here again the 1564 editor has introduced a phrase, *Voulut vendre à un serrargent des chapeaux de Cassade,* in order to connect this chapter with the preceding one, substituting it for *auoit bastu un* (*le* MS.) *chicanoux passant procuration* of the *Isle Sonnante* and the MS. Again also we are puzzled by a difference between the three texts at the outset;

Isle Sonnante: Ayant auttrefois eu procuration la laissames et passasmes condemnation;

MS.: *De là passasmes condemnation;*

1564: *Quelques iours après, ayant failly plusieurs fois à faire naufrage, nous passasmes,* &c.

Thus it appears that in the original text there is a reference to the beating of the Chiquanous by Brother John which is recounted in iv. xvi., and further that the travellers are represented as sailing for the second time by the Island of Procuration inhabited by the Chiquanous (see iv. xii.). Leaving this difficulty for discussion till we reach the end of the episode, I note that in this chapter occurs the curious reading of the *Isle Sonnante, Cytanes pro. et Ther.,* to which reference has already been made, and that in the next line *es coups endurciz* is clearly right as against *des corps endurcis* of 1564 and *ces coups adroués* of the MS. Further, it may be noticed that the description of Osiris to which Grippeminaud is compared is borrowed from Macrobius.

Chapter XII.

The *Isle Sonnante* prints *frere Jehan des enlumineures* for *frere Jehan des Entommeures*, and it omits the words *y serez bien innocentés*, which are found in the MS. and the text of 1564.

Chapter XIII.

Bourse monsieur is clearly wrong, but I doubt whether *de cuir* of the MS. and the 1564 text is the right correction. *griphons* (last sentence but one), with which the MS. agrees, is of course right as against *garçons* (1564).

Chapter XIV.

soixante et huict cohuz barguettes et fregates. *Barguettes* should of course be *barquettes* as in the MS., which gives *tabuz* for *cohuz*. The true reading is doubtless *cahutes*. The 1564 text gets out of the difficulty by reading *galeres* and omits *barquettes*. It may be noticed that the number of vessels is 68 and not 78, which is Rabelais's favourite number. There is a reference to Xenophon's treatise *On hunting* in *Xenophon escriuant estre de la vennerie comme du cheual de Troye yssus tous bons chefs de guerre*, a sentence remarkable for its bold inversion.

Chapter XV.

A long chapter, chiefly composed of a conversation between Brother John and Panurge, which, though not particularly amusing, is on the whole characteristic of both these worthies. Noté the inversion in *pour en cestuy voyage messe chanter* and the old form of *rien ne faire* (line 3), which is preserved in the *Isle Sonnante* and MS. but not in the 1564 text. Note also the following mistakes: *mettre* for *mettoit* (perhaps due to a confusion in the manuscript); *Thidee* for *l'hidre*; *esse* for *est-ce*; *calabres oyes de panthile* for *celebres oyes de Pauthilé*, *Pauthilé* or *Potillé* being a village near Chinon. On the other hand the *Isle Sonnante* and MS. should be followed in *Feste de sainct Baletrou*, which the 1564 editor has heedlessly altered into *faictes*. *Et sainct hurlu burlu.* Mr W. F. Smith has pointed out to me that the reference to Semele and the two passages relating to the nether world and to Calpe and Abila are all suggested by the *Hypnerotomachia*, and with this I agree.

As regards the whole episode, its satire is bitter, even savage, to

the entire exclusion of humour. This is not Rabelais's usual tone, but it is to be found in some passages of the Ringing Island. The portrait of Grippeminaud is decidedly powerful and has left a marked impress on French literature. La Fontaine, an enthusiastic admirer of Rabelais, borrows the name for *sa Majesté fourrée*, in the fable of *The cat, the weasel and the little rabbit*. Vauquelin de la Fresnaye, who was seventeen when Rabelais died, refers to him as the creator of Grippeminaud, and so does Étienne Tabourot, who was born in 1549, quoting in his *Bigarrures* a passage from chapter xii.

The strongest evidence in favour of Rabelais's authorship is the use of the *Hypnerotomachia*. It is also to some extent in favour of it that the couplet in chapter xi is imitated from Marot, that the punning use of the word *griffon* for *greffier* (chap. xiii) also occurs in the same poet's *Enfer*, and that possibly the whole idea of the episode may have been suggested by that poem. It is curious that Grippeminaud's habit of interlarding all his remarks with the words *Or ça*, which becomes very wearisome, also figures in one of Des Periers's stories (xxi) as a characteristic of the speech of a Paris *curé*. These stories were not published till 1558, but Rabelais may have seen them in manuscript, or the same not very brilliant idea may have occurred to both writers.

Isle des Apedeftes.

This satire on the *Chambre des Comptes*, which forms the subject of chapter xvi of the *Isle Sonnante*, is omitted both in the MS. and in the 1564 text, and was not reprinted till 1567, when it appeared as chapter vii, where it is manifestly out of place. The reason for the omission is to be found doubtless in its tediousness and too great technicality. That the omission was deliberate may be gathered from the peculiar numbering of the chapters which appears in the MS. in this place. For chapters xv and xvi are numbered respectively 38. 15 and 39. 16, which seems to denote a special indication that the chapter on the Apedeftes was to be omitted, and that chapter xvi—evidently a fragment, the contents of which do not fully correspond to the heading (*Comme nous passames outre, et comment Panurge faillit d'estre tué*), for there is not a word about Panurge nearly being killed—was to follow immediately after chapter xv. But this omission of chapter xvi of the *Isle Sonnante* necessitated also the omission of part of chapter xv, which consequently ends in the MS. and the 1564 text with the words *moins de douze francs*. As the text stands in the *Isle*

Sonnante, the episode of the Apedeftes is closely connected with that of the Furred Cats and follows immediately after it. M. Boulenger and others seem to have found a difficulty in the words of Panurge, *nous venons du pays des savans*, regarding the term *savants* as inappropriate to the Furred Cats, but it surely denotes the contrast between the Criminal Judges who were 'clerks,' and the members of the *Chambre des Comptes* who were not, and who are therefore here termed Apedeftes (*ἀπαίδευτοι*). If M. Boulenger's supposition that this episode has been wrongly inserted here is right, we have to suppose that the 'editor' of the *Isle Sonnante* invented either the conclusion of chapter xv from *si tost que Frere Jehan*, or the opening of chapter xvi, down to *prins terre*. This is very unlikely. Moreover the reference to Grippeminaud at the close of chapter xvi points to a close connection between the two episodes.

As regards the authenticity of the chapter, I quite agree with M. Boulenger that there is no serious reason for not attributing it to Rabelais. To find in it 'contradictions, incoherences, and defects of style,' as Des Marets and Rathery do, is to be blinded by prejudice, for, whatever its demerits, it contains neither contradictions nor incoherences, and the style, as M. Boulenger says, is very correct. Indeed, though it has little interest for modern readers, it must have seemed to Rabelais's contemporaries a powerful and vigorous piece of satire.

To come to details, a forger might have invented Brother John's exclamation of *Vertus d'Extravagantes* with its reminiscence of bishop Homenas, and Panurge's oath *Par la royne des Andouilles*, but the casual references to Panurge's spectacles and to Epistemon as one who 'understood all languages' are touches almost beyond a forger's art. The mention of Lamballe, a town in the neighbourhood of Saint Malo, which has already figured in IV. 52, also points to Rabelais, who evidently knew that part of Brittany.

On the whole the evidence in favour of Rabelais's authorship of this episode (apart from its inclusion in the text of the *Isle Sonnante*) is decidedly strong, and, as it is difficult to separate it from the Furred Cats, it carries with it a similar presumption in favour of that episode.

It is a feature common to these two episodes that they read like finished work, without the hesitations, the incoherences, the rough places that we meet with in the three preceding episodes. It is true that in the account of the Furred Cats (chapter xi) we come upon that curious abbreviation in the *Isle Sonnante* which is the strongest testimony to its having been printed from an unrevised draft, but no other similar indications occur in these chapters, and it is just worth noticing that in

the very passage where this appears there are various discrepancies between the *Isle Sonnante* and the other two texts, both of which have the following additions; *advenant—ne recordent—ne veulent—retournons. Retournons, dis-je, de par Dieu.* There is another difference between these episodes and the preceding ones. In the earlier books it is not Rabelais's practice to introduce his own personality into his narrative. Throughout the Fourth Book there are not, I think, more than four instances of the use of the first person singular. But in the first ten chapters of the Fifth Book the narrator intervenes no less than nine times, four times in chapter x, twice in chapter ix, and once each in chapters ii, v and vi, In the 1564 text there is an additional instance in chapter vii. It may be said that this is an argument against the authenticity of these chapters. But Rabelais's rule is not so absolute as to warrant this inference. I rather infer that the intrusion of his own personality is a sign that these chapters had not been worked up into a final artistic shape. This is almost certainly the case with the episodes of the Island of Tools and the Island of Cheating (chapters ix and x), which have not received the impress of dramatic life characteristic of most of Rabelais's finished work. Similar instances are the episodes of the Island of Odes (chapter xxvi) and the Island of Satin (chapters xxx, xxxi). The same cannot be said of chapters ii, v and vi, but it is noteworthy that in v and vi occur two of the passages which M. Boulenger has adduced in support of his view that the *Isle Sonnante* was printed from a rough draft.

We are thus led to the conclusion that not only was Rabelais the author of the episodes of the Furred Cats and the Apedeftes but that he had definitely intended to include them in his narrative. We are met, however, with a decided difficulty at the very outset of chapter xi. Why are the travellers brought back to the country of Procuration, inhabited by the Chiquanous, which they had already visited in the early days of the voyage? Evidently this difficulty had struck the editor of the 1564 text, who has omitted all mention of Procuration. The only explanation that I can suggest is that these two episodes were meant to form part of the account of the homeward voyage. As M. Lefranc points out, the travellers were evidently meant to return by the same route, and, as he also points out, there is nothing to show that the story is concluded with the Fifth Book. A more natural conclusion would be the marriage of Panurge and perhaps also the marriage of Pantagruel. My suggested explanation is of course a mere conjecture, but it may serve to accentuate the view that if the Fifth Book is by

Rabelais, it is far from being in the state in which he intended it to appear.

It remains to consider the date of the composition of these two episodes. The only help that we get is from the references in the chapter on the Apedeftes to the *Extravagantes* and to the Queen of the Chitterlings which shew that it must have been written after the episodes of the Fourth Book in which these are mentioned. Now the Fourth Book was begun in 1546 and published in a complete form at the beginning of 1552. But a fragment of it appeared at the beginning of 1548, and the natural supposition is that this comprised all that was written at the time. M. Lefranc indeed thinks otherwise, and suggests that Rabelais kept back certain chapters from motives of prudence. But at any rate there is no reason for supposing that either the episode of the Chitterlings or that of the Island of Papimanes was written at that date. In the early summer of 1548 Rabelais went to Rome and did not return till July 1550. Soon afterwards he applied for a privilege for the Fourth Book, shewing that he believed it to be complete, and it was granted in August. But was the whole book, as we have it, written by this date, which was nearly eighteen months before its publication? My own belief, as I have explained elsewhere, is that in order to secure the King's support in case of an attack by the Sorbonne or the Parliament, he made certain additions in the course of the year 1551, and that one of these additions was the whole episode of the Papimanes, which was suggested and inspired by the rupture between Henri II and the Pope in the autumn of that year. On this hypothesis the chapter on the Apedeftes could not have been written until after that date, and probably not until the Fourth Book had been finally completed. The possible date of its composition is thus limited to the period between the last months of 1551 and the date of Rabelais's death, which took place at some time between December 1552 and May 1554—according to tradition in the year 1553.

Though the episode of the Apedeftes is closely connected with that of the Furred Cats, it does not necessarily follow that it was written immediately after it. Rabelais may have written the episode of the Furred Cats at an earlier date, and then later on connected it with that of the Apedeftes, by the sentence, *Ainsi le vent.....grands rochers*, which terminates chapter xv. Our only clue therefore to its date is the conjecture that it forms part of the narrative of the homeward, and not of the outward voyage. If it does, then like the episode of the Apedeftes it belongs to the last year or two of Rabelais's life. If it

does not, then we are free to assign to it any date between 1546 and Rabelais's death, for Rabelais may have refrained from including it in the Fourth Book as likely to bring him into difficulties with one of the very bodies whose animosity he had to fear—the Parliament of Paris.

For this powerful and violent satire is obviously directed not merely against the general administration of criminal justice in France, but against the Criminal Court of the Paris Parliament, and the question has naturally been asked what had roused Rabelais to such anger and bitterness, so different from his ordinary tone of humorous and not ill-natured satire. Was it the decree of Parliament which temporarily suspended the sale of the Fourth Book? But Des Marets is doubtless right in saying that the vengeance is out of all proportion to the grievance. Or was it a later decree (which was evidently passed, though it has not been preserved) stopping the publication altogether?

Another suggestion presents itself. Towards the close of 1547 a second Criminal Court was formed for the trial of heretics. It sat from December 1547 to January 1549, and again for a time from March 1553, and so thoroughly did it do its work that it became known as *La Chambre Ardente*. Was it the proceedings of this court that stirred Rabelais, the lover of tolerance, the hater of persecution, to such unusual but justifiable wrath? In favour of this view I can only point to two passages in the narrative, one in which it is said that the spoliation committed by the Furred Cats 'is found good by all human beings, except the heretics' (chapter xi), and the other in which Brother John, in answer to Grippeminaud's imprecation that he may be wedded to a quartan fever, replies, 'Thou wouldest then marry monks? Ho! ho! I take thee for a heretic.'

It remains to sum up the conclusions to which I have been brought in the course of my inquiry. The condition of the text of the *Isle Sonnante* shews (*a*) that it was printed, at any rate as regards chapters i—x, from a rough draft, and that even in chapter xi which forms part of the two last and closely connected episodes there is a distinct proof of the lack of final revision; (*b*) that the proofs were never revised by the author; (*c*) that of the five episodes of which it is composed, the last two are continuous and may have been written at the same time, but the other three are quite distinct both from one another and from the last two, and may have been all written at different times with no idea of continuity.

On these grounds alone we are, I hold, justified in rejecting alike the hypothesis of an unscrupulous editor working upon Rabelais's authentic fragments and that of an out-and-out forger. And this view finds additional confirmation when we come to examine the chapters in detail. In every chapter we find passages which point strongly, though not inevitably, to Rabelais's authorship, while there is not a single passage in the text of the *Isle Sonnante* which is demonstrably not by him. My explanation of the genesis of the work is that some person made a copy of certain of Rabelais's papers, and put it in the hands of a printer without attempting to edit them or taking any further trouble in the matter.

I have advanced certain conjectures as to the period at which Rabelais wrote the various episodes, but in no case do I profess to have gone beyond a purely conjectural stage. I trust however that this inquiry will stimulate other students of Rabelais to examine not only the *Isle Sonnante* but the whole of the Fifth Book in detail, for I am convinced that it is only by patient investigation, chapter by chapter, that the difficult question of the authenticity of the Fifth Book will be solved.

ARTHUR TILLEY.

QUELLE UND ABFASSUNGSZEIT DER SONNTAGS-EPISTEL IN DER IRISCHEN 'CÁIN DOMNAIG.'

EIN BEITRAG ZUR ENTWICKLUNGS- UND VERBREITUNGSGESCHICHTE DES VOM HIMMEL GEFALLENEN BRIEFES CHRISTI.

Der altirische Traktat dieses Namens, den O'Keeffe in *Ériu*, Journal of the School of Irish Learning, Dublin, II (1905), S. 189 ff., kritisch herausgegeben hat, ist als Glied einer eben so merkwürdigen als langlebigen Fiktion zu betrachten. Das Erzeugnis einer der dunkelsten Perioden der westlichen Kirche, sah sie das Tageslicht meines Wissens zuerst gegen Ende des sechsten Jahrhunderts in Spanien oder Süd-Gallien, vielleicht unter dem Einfluss einzelner Canones der zweiten Synode von Macon (585) und des Edikts König Guntrams vom 10. November desselben Jahres. In Prosa zumeist, seltener und später auch strophisch oder in Reimpaaren—man kann dann an eine Reimpredigt denken—breitet sich diese Fiktion in Gestalt eines vom Himmel gefallenen Briefes Christi mit dem Gebot der Sonntagsheiligung, öfters aber auch als Predigt oder Traktat über denselben, allmählich nach allen Himmelsgegenden aus; nordwärts bis nach Island (in zwei zeitlich stark getrennten Stössen) und Dänemark, westlich bis nach Irland, südlich über Äthiopien und Abyssinien, während sie sich nach Osten hin bis nach Syrien[1] und Arabien, ja selbst bis an die Malabar-Küste fortpflanzt. Und sie lebt, zum Schutzbrief gegen Kugel, Krankheit und Kindsnöte geworden, noch heutigen Tags.

Doch wir haben uns hier nur mit einem irischen Sprossen der Fiktion zu beschäftigen. Schon einmal habe ich in einem Aufsatz,

[1] Vgl. jetzt M. Bittner, *Der vom Himmel gefallene Brief Christi in seinen morgenländischen Versionen* (*Denkschriften der Wiener Akademie*, Band LI). Der daselbst S. 217 ausgesprochenen Vermutung, das koptisch verfasste Schreiben des letzten Märtyrerbischofs Petrus von Alexandrien habe den Anstoss zur Entstehung des Himmelsbriefes gegeben, indem es, wohl in Italien, zu einem vom Himmel gefallenen lateinischen Christusbriefe verarbeitet worden sei, vermag ich mich nicht anzuschliessen aus Gründen, die anderwärts zur Sprache kommen sollen.

'The chief sources of some Anglo-Saxon Homilies,' in *Otia Merseiana* (Publication of the Faculty of Arts of the University of Liverpool), I, pp. 129—147, die Frage nach seiner Vorgeschichte im Vorübergehen gestreift; aber meine damalige Ansicht hat sich bei eingehenderem Studium der irischen Überlieferung in einem Punkte nicht unwesentlich verschoben, und der betrifft das Verhältnis der Sonntagsepistel in der *Cáin Domnaig* (C) zu einer ags. Homilie (P), als deren Verfasser ich einen gewissen Pehtred nachzuweisen versuchte, der um das Jahr 830 in der Provinz York lebte und ein Buch zusammenschrieb, das ihm ob einzelner undogmatischer Sätze und Ansichten von Seiten seines geistlichen Oberhirten Zorn und Verfolgung eingetragen zu haben scheint[1].

Nach dem oben über das Wesen der Fiktion gesagten wird man in der Sonntagsepistel der *Cáin Domnaig*, d. h. in ihren ersten 19 Paragraphen, keine irische Originalarbeit vermuten. Darum also wird es sich zunächst handeln, unter den überaus zahlreichen Gliedern jener Fiktion dasjenige herauszufinden, das dem irischen Text am nächsten steht, eventuell seine direkte Quelle gebildet hat. Da sich bei solchen Fragen Detailarbeit nun einmal nicht vermeiden lässt, so scheint mir eine tabellarische Anordnung des Stoffes am zweckmässigsten. Ich setze also in die erste Spalte die §§ 1—19 der *Cáin Domnaig* in der von O'Keeffe beigegebenen Übersetzung, in die zweite die entsprechenden Stellen aus P = Pehtreds Homilie, n°. XLIV, §§ 215—26, in Napiers *Wulfstan*, und aus M = *Epistola de die sancto Dominico*[2] in der Münchener Hs. des XI. Jh. Lat. 9550, deren Text ich als Repräsentanten der lateinischen Himmelsbriefe jener Redaktion[3] gewählt habe, zu der zweifelsohne P und C gehören. Unter P*, das ich einmal herbeiziehe, verstehe ich eine zweite vielfach abweichende Version von P, die sich

[1] Vgl. *Otia Merseiana*, I, S. 141—142. Das wenige, was wir über Pehtred wissen, erhellt aus einem Briefe Egreds, Bischofs von Lindisfarne, an Wulfsige, Erzbischof von York (Stubbs, *Councils*, III, p. 615). Aus der Art, wie Pehtred zum Widerruf gebracht werden soll, scheint hervorzugehen, dass er kein Mönch, sondern ein Parochialpriester war. Leider lässt sich auch nicht mit Gewissheit sagen, ob das Buch (*liber*) Pehtreds—wohl eine Sammlung von Homilien und Traktaten—auf Latein oder in der Volkssprache abgefasst war. Selbst wenn das erstere der Fall wäre, so setzt doch der starke, Egred gefährlich dünkende Einfluss des Mannes auf seine Nachbarsleute (*in vicino illi manentes*) m. E. Predigtansprachen in ihrer Zunge voraus, so dass man sein Eigentumsrecht auf die, freilich nur in jüngerer Gestalt erhaltene, ags. Predigt auch dann nicht anzuzweifeln brauchte.

[2] Gedruckt, von P. Delehaye, *Note sur la légende de la lettre du Christ tombée du ciel*, Acad. Royale de Belgique, *Bulletin*, Cl. des lettres, 1899, n°. 2, p. 179 ff.

[3] Ich habe sie, *Otia Merseiana*, S. 142 mit II bezeichnet und ihren Charakter einer Redaktion I gegenüber dahin bestimmt, dass ihr abgesehen von einer gewissen eklektischen Tendenz in der Textgestaltung, die Einleitung gänzlich fehlt, während sie anderseits einen Epilog herausgebildet hat, in dem ein fingierter Bischof die Echtheit der himmlischen Botschaft beschwört. Einen Text meiner Redaktion I findet man ebenda, S. 130—34.

bei Napier als n°. XLIII findet, unter S endlich, das mehreremale eintritt, wo M versagt, eine *Epistola sancti Salvatoris* auf fol. 231^{r} der Hs. Add. 30,853 des British Museum, geschrieben im XI Jh. zu Silos in Spanien.

Cáin Domnaig: § 1, Z. 1—5: Here begins the Epistle of the Saviour our Lord Jesus Christ concerning the Lord's Day, which His own hand wrote in the presence of the men of Heaven, and which was placed upon the altar of Peter the Apostle in Rome of Latium, to make Sunday holy for all time.

P (l. c. S. 220_{29}—30_{3}): and drehten sende his agen handgewrit an Scē Petres heahaltare in his cirican...and he þæt dyde, forþon þe he wolde.....us gecyþan hu he wiþ us gedon wolde, gef we noldan healdan sunnandæges bebod.
[M: *nihil.*]

Z. 5—11: When this Epistle was brought from Heaven, the whole earth trembled from the rising unto the setting of the sun; and the earth cast its stones and trees on high, for dread of the Creator and for joy also, because of the attendance of the angels who had come with the Epistle; and so great was the din at that time, that the place opened where the body of Peter the Apostle lay buried in Rome.

P (S. 225_{7-11}): and hit gelamp an þa tid, þe þis gewrit becom anufan Scē Petres wefode, þæt se stod wearþ eal onhrered, and hio abiofode eal. and sio bergen wearþ open geworden and unhlidod, þe Scē Petres lichama an leg under þam weofode.
[M: *nihil.*]

Z. 11—13: When the *abbot of Rome* was at Mass he saw the Epistle on the altar.

P (S. 224_{27-28}): and hio (*sc.* Florentius se papa and Petrus se bescup) hit fundan anufan Scē Petres altare.
[M: *nihil.*]

§ 2: This, then, was found therein, even to restrain men from transgressing Sunday. For whatsoever plague and trouble has come into the world, it is through the transgression of Sunday that it has come.

P (S. 221_{12-15}): gef ge ne willaþ yet healdan sunnandæges bebod....., þonne becumaþ get ofer iow micel goddes erre.
M: Quia nescitis illum custodire, propter hoc venit ira Dei super vos.

§ 3—4: There are, moreover, in certain eastern parts beasts which were sent to men; and it is to avenge [the transgression] of Sunday they have been sent. They are named *bruchae*. Their hairs are pins of iron, and they have fiery eyes. They go into the vineyards and cut the branches of the vine so that they fall to the ground; thereupon they roll about in the fruit, so that the grapes of the vine stick in these pins, and they bear them away to their abode.

There are also locusts there—other animals that is. They have wings of iron that cut into everything which they encounter. Then they go into the wheat, and cut the ears so that they fall on the ground. That, too, is done to punish men for [the transgression] of Sunday.

P (S. 221_{5-10}): amen, amen dico uobis, quod misi(t) brucus in uobis, et non timuisti(s) eos. soþ, soþ is, þæt ic iow secge, þæt ic sænde ceferas an eow, and ge iow þa ne andredan: þa sende ic gershoppan anufan iowerne hwæte, and ge þa get gecyrran noldan, þæt ge wel gehealdan woldan þone halgan sunnandeg.

S: Amen dico uobis quia misi super populum brucos et locustas et non cognoverunt me.
M: (propter hoc venit ira Dei super vos), et flagella in laboribus et in pecudibus vestris quae possidetis.

§ 5: This is what is enjoined by the heavenly Father in the Epistle: mercy on the poor and infirm, and on pilgrims. The tears which these shed when no mercy is shown them fall upon the breast of the Creator Himself. It is He who punishes the evil which is done them.

P (S. 222_{8-12}): ge me oft tynan gededan, þanne þearfan cleopedan to iowrum husum and ge hi ne noldan gehyran, ne me nane mildheortnesse noldan an heom gecyþan; and þonne selðiodige to iow coman, þanne noldan ge hiom nan god don.

M: et qui ambulaverit ad alium locum ...in die sancto dominico nisi ad ecclesiam meam aut infirmos visitare, flagellabo vos duris flagellis.

§ 6: It is thus the observance of Sunday has been enjoined from Heaven, namely, from vesper-time on Saturday to tierce on Monday.

P (S. 222_{13-15}): gef ge ne healdaþ þane halgan sunnandæg fram nontide þæs seternesdeges oþ þæs monandeges lihtincge.....

M: si non custodieritis sanctum diem dominicum de hora nona sabbati usque ad horam primam secundae feriae...

§ 7, Z. 1—5: Christ, Son of the living God, suffered cross and martyrdom on behalf of the human race, and rose from the dead on Sunday. Even on that account alone Sunday should be kept holy. And on that day He will come on the day of Doom to judge the quick and the dead.

P (S. 222_{17-23}): ic eom godes sunu and ic feola geþrowade for iow, ic wæs on rode ahangen for iow, and ic deaþ geþrowade for iow, and ic of deaþe aras for iow an þone halgan sunnandeg, and ic an heofonas astah an þone halgan eastor-sunnandæg, and ic sitte nu an þa swiþran healfe godfæder, and ic cume to demenne cwicum and deadum an þone halgan sunnandæg.

M: Ego ipse hac die resurrexi a mortuis, cum passus sum pro vestra omnium salute et in ipso die resurrectionis meae eripui vos de inferno et a potestate diaboli.

§ 8: 'Whosoever shall not keep Sunday,' saith the heavenly Father, 'within its proper boundaries, his soul shall not attain Heaven, neither shall he see Me in the Kingdom of Heaven, nor the Archangels, nor the Apostles.'

P (S. 222_{33}—223_{6}): soþ, soþ is, þæt ic iow secge, seþe ne gehealdaþ þone halgan sunnandeg, minne restandæg...mit rihte fram nontide þæs sæternesdæges oþ þæs monandæges lihtincge, þæt he biþ awerged aa in weorulde weoruld, and ic him wiþsacæ, þonne he of þisan life gewit, and he ne hafaþ næfre dæl mid me ne mid minan ænglum to heofonan rice.

M: Amen dico vobis, si non custodieritis sanctum diem dominicum de hora noua sabbati usque ad horam primam secundae feriae, anathematizabo vos cum patre meo, et non habetis partem mecum neque cum angelis meis in saecula saeculorum.

§ 9, Z. 1—5: Whatsoever horse is ridden on Sunday, it is a horse of fire in the fork of its rider in hell. The ox and the bondman and bondwoman on whom wrongful bondage is inflicted on Sunday, the eyes of all of them shed towards God tears of blood, for God has freed that day for them all.

P (S. 223_{6-8}): ealle fyþerfete nytenu (=quadrupedia) cleopiaþ to me, and ic hio gehære, and hiom nillaþ reste forgefan an þone halgan sunnandeg.

[M: *nihil.*]

Z. 5—6: For not even folk in hell are punished on that day.

P (S. 219_{32}—220_{6}): and þæt is eac cuþ, þæt for þæs dæges halgunge and weorþunge þæt þa sauwla onfoþ reste, þa þa beoþ on witincgstowan (=purgatory), gef hi mid ænigan þingan Crist geglado-dan on þisam earman life, þonne habbaþ hi reste from þære nontide þæs seternes-dæges oþ þæs monandæges lihtincge. and we gelyfaþ þurh godes gife, þæt hit swa sig, gif hi Criste her on life on ænigan þingan gecwemdon. ac þa, þa to helle becumaþ, ne cumaþ hig næfre to reste, ah þar acwylmjaþ mid saule on þam lichaman æfter domesdæge.

Aber vgl. P* (S. 211_{20-23}): and is eac cuð, þæt for þæs dæges halgunge and weorðunge ealle *hellware* onfoð reste, gif heo æfre fulluhtes onfangen hæfdon, fram nontide þæs sæternesdæges oð monandæges lihtincge.

[M: *nihil.*]

§ 10: 'Unless ye observe Sunday,' saith the Lord, 'within its proper boundaries, there shall come great tempests, and many fiery lightnings, and thunder, and sulphurous fires, which shall burn tribes and nations, and heavy stony hail-storms, and flying serpents, and heathens shall come to you from Me,' saith God Himself; 'even a race of Pagans, who will carry you into bondage from your own lands, and will offer you up to their own gods.'

P (S. 223_{8-13}): soþ is iow secge, gef ge ne healdaþ þone halgan sunnandeg mid rihte, þæt ic sænde gyt ofer iow micele stormas and hagolstanas and fleogende neddran, þa ge abera ne megan, and swelicne leg; and ic lete hæþenfolc ofer iow, þa iow fornimaþ and iowra bearn.

M: Iterum dico uobis, si non custodieritis sanctum diem dominicum, mittam super vos grandinem, ignem, fulgura, coruscationes, tempestates [serpentes pinnatas S] ut pereant labores vestri. et venit gens pagana quae alios occidit, et alios in captivitatem ducit [cf. S: et misit super vos gentes malas qui (!) ducunt filios et filias vestras in captivitate].

§ 11: There are, moreover, five huge beasts and hideous in the depths of hell, seeking to come on earth to men to avenge [the transgression] of Sunday, unless God's mercy should hold them back.

P (S. 221_{29-33}): þa sænde dryhten .v. deor up of se, and nes ænig man, þæt hiom wiþstandan mihte, ær þanne hie drehten eft fram mannum hi anam, þa he geseah, þæt his handgeweorc forweor-þan scolde.

[M: *nihil.*]

§ 12: This is the reward which is given for keeping Sunday holy: the windows of heaven will be open before them; and God will bestow blessing on themselves and on their houses and lands, and there shall be neither poverty nor hunger in the house in which Sunday shall be observed. Whatsoever prayer shall be asked of God at the burial-places of Saints, it shall be granted to men for observing Sunday; and the earth shall

P (S. 223_{13-23}): soþ ys, þæt ic iow secge, gef ge healdaþ þone halgan sun-nandeg mid rihte.....þonne ontyne ic iow heofenas þeodan, and ic selle iow menigfealde wæstmas and mine blet-sunge an iowrum husum to nytte a oþ ænde eowres lifes, and ge þonne bioþ gehwærfede to me and to minan halgan, and þonne swa hwæs swa ge biddaþ an minan naman, eal ic iow sille. and ic blissige an iow and ge on me;

be given to them here below, and they shall get Heaven beyond, and the Lord will welcome your souls.

and ge bioþ halige, forþon ic eam eowar drihten.

M: Amen dico vobis, si custodieritis diem dominicum, aperiam vobis cataracterem coeli in omni bono, et multiplicabo fructus vestros, et dabo vobis pacem, et elongabo dies annorum vestrorum, et maneo in vobis et vos in me, ut sciatis quia ego sum Dominus et non est alius praeter me.

§ 13: 'Unless ye keep Sunday holy,' saith the Lord, 'I swear by my might, and by My only begotten Son, even Christ the Son of God, and by My holy angels, a shower of fire shall come to you on the feast of John, and it shall kill you all, men, youths, women, and maids, and your souls shall be in hell thereafter without end.'

P (S. 223_{24-33}): soþ is, þæt ic iow secge, þæt ic swerige þurh minne miht and þurh mine þa halgan ænglas, cherubin and særaphin,.....gef ge ne healdaþ þane haligan sunnandeg mit rihte, þonne cymeþ micel reng and snaw and micele hagolstanas ofer iow, and micel fer biþ anberned ymb þa monþas utan, þe synt hatene september and october.

[M: *nihil.*]

[§ 14—15: werden ganz von einer *Dignatio diei Dominici* eingenommen, die sich zum grössten Teil aus den Pseudo-August. Predigten nº. 167, 2 (Migne, 89 c. 2070) und nº. 280, 2 (*ibid.*, c. 2274, auch unter den *Ascetica aubia* Bedas, Migne 94 c. 531, und in dem Pseudo-Alcuinischen *Liber de divinis officiis*, cap. 27, Migne 101 c. 1286) zusammensetzt. Da P im allgemeinen gut dazu stimmt und ausserdem ein Plus oder Minus in diesem Fall nichts zu bedeuten hat, drucke ich die *Dignatio* hier nicht wieder ab und begnüge mich auch mit Anführung des Platzes, wo sie in P zu finden ist.]

P (S. 217_{26}—220_{6}).

[M: *nihil.* Aber die *Dignatio* ist gelegentlich angehängt an ein lateinisches Glied dieser Redaktion, z. B. an die Epistel in MS. Roy. 8 F VI, 15. Jh. des Brit. Mus. (vgl. meinen Artikel über 'John Audelay's Poem on the Observance of Sunday' in the *Furnival Miscellany*, p. 397 ff.)]

§ 17—18, Z. 2: 'This is what I forbid,' saith the Lord: 'On Sunday there shall be no dispute, or lawsuit, or assembly, or strife, or bargain, or horse-driving, or sweeping the floor of a house, or shaving, or washing, or bathing, or washing [clothes], or grinding in mill or quern, or cooking, or churning, or yarn-weaving, or adultery, or journeying by anyone beyond the border of his own territory, or racing, or shooting with spear or arrow, or riding on horse or ass, or boiling food, or swimming, or horse-riding, or splitting firewood, or coracle on water, or anything involving wrong.'

Whosoever shall do this on Sunday, unless he shall perform great penance for it, his soul shall not attain Heaven.

P (S. 223_{33}—224_{8}): and ic þanne wille forbærnan ealle eower god and ealle, þa þe an unrihtum tidum yfel wyrcaþ, oþþe he an þæm dege oþerne swinggæþ, oððe he hus feormaþ oþþe hlafes bakeþ oþþe swereþ oþþe cnytt, oþþe he hine baþaþ, oþþe he hine efeseþ, oþþe he hine scirþ, oþþe he unalefedlice an þam dege gegeð, þæt he werig biþ, oþþe þe ænige unrihtnesse an þan dæge gefremeþ; þa þe hit doþ, witan hie þanne, þæt hio bioþ ealle awergde fram me in þa æcan wita and hiora bearn ealle butan æghwilcum ænde.

M: Si quis negotium fecerit aliquod in die sancto dominico, exterminabo eum, aut si aliquid in domo sua operatur aut capillos tonserit aut vestimenta laverit aut panem coxerit, aut aliud quid inliciti operis in die dominico exterminabo eum

...si quis proximum causaverit in die sancto dominico, aut detractionem, aut contentionem, aut inclitum risum commiserit, inmittam in eum omne malum ut deficiat et dispergetur. Ausserdem: Et qui ambulaverit ad alium locum aut equitaverit in die sancto dominico nisi ad ecclesiam meam, flagellabo vos duris flagellis.

§ 18, Z. 3—7: 'I swear,' said the abbot of Rome, 'by the might of God the Father, and by Christ's Cross, that this is no invention of mine, and no fiction or fable, but it is from God the Father this Epistle was sent unto the altar of Peter in Rome of Latium to make Sunday holy.'

P (S. 224_{29}—225_3): wit (Florentius and Peter) swerigaþ þurh þane micelan anwald ures dryhtenes and þurh þa halgan Cristes rode, þe he for manna helo a þrowade, þæt hit is eal soþ, þæt wit sæcgaþ, þæt fram nanum eorþlicum men þios dryhtnes ærendboc awritan ne wæs, ne mid bocblece, ne mid menigum eorþlicum andweorce, ac hit wæs on Scē Petres heahaltare funden þis gewrit þus awriten mid geldnum stafum.

M: Ego Petrus episcopus indignus, iuro per Maiestatem Dei qui fecit coelum et terram, mare et omnia quae in eis sunt, per Ihesum Christum et per sanctam genetricem Mariam *etc. etc.* quia ista epistola non formata est manu hominis neque scripta, sed est scripta digito Dei et Domini nostri Ihesu Christi, et est transmissa de septimo caelo et de throno Dei in terram [S: in sacrosancto altare Scē Bauduli in civitate Nimaso].

§ 19: Any cleric who shall not read it aloud conscientiously to the peoples and nations of the world, his soul shall not attain heaven, but it shall be in hell forever. Whosoever shall read it aloud, and shall write it, and shall fulfil it after hearing it, he shall not only have prosperity in this world, but the kingdom of the other world for ever yonder.

P (S. 224_{8-20}): ond eghwilcan men is beboden þurh god selfne in Cristes noman....., se þe hebbe þis gospel on his gewealde, þæt he hit bodige. and cyþe swiþe gelomlice godes folce swa þurh hine selfne, gef he gelæred sie, swa þurh oþerne gelæredne mon, þonne he him to cume. and gef he þonne þæt agemeleaseþ, þæt he lætaþ licgan þis godspyl unet godes folce, þæt hit ne nan mynstermon na sægþ, þonne cweþ drihten and þus aþ swor, þæt he wære awyrged fram him and fram eallum his halgum in þa æcan witu.

M: Praecipio vobis sacerdotibus meis, ut unusquisque istam epistolam ostendat populo suo, et affirmate illis a me transmissam. Quod si non crediderint, anathematizabo eos usque in saeculum.

Auch bei nur flüchtigem Blick wird jedem, der die vorstehende Tabelle sich angesehen hat, die weitgehende Übereinstimmung zwischen C und M aufgefallen sein, ganz besonders aber die noch viel engeren

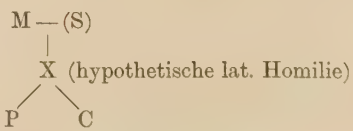
Beziehungen zwischen C und P, soweit diese Homilie von dem Briefe Christi, dem Ort und den Umständen seiner Herabkunft handelt. Wie ist das zu erklären? Eines ist sicher. Pehtred kann nicht den irischen Traktat gekannt haben, denn er führt fast durchgängig die Worte der Epistel in direkter Rede an, während der Ire uns zumeist nur mit ihrem Inhalt bekannt macht. Doch vor allem: Pehtred verrät uns ja die Sprache seiner Quelle, wenn er als Briefanfang citiert: amen, amen, dico vobis' etc. (vgl. §§ 3—4). Zweifelsohne, ihm lag eine Epistola Christi vor, die, wir dürfen hinzufügen, in derselben Weise wie S anhob, im übrigen sich aber ziemlich eng an M anschloss. So bleiben nur zwei Fälle übrig. Entweder C ist unmittelbar abhängig von P oder beide gehen selbständig auf dieselbe gemeinsame lateinische Quelle X zurück.

Die erste Hypothese hat etwas verführerisches an sich, wenn wir beobachten, wie gering eigentlich die Zahl der Abweichungen zwischen P und C ist, die einer Erklärung bedürfen. Solche wie die Zugaben in C § 9, Z. 2—3 ('bondman and bondwoman') oder in § 19, Z. 3—6 (die Umkehrung des voraufgehenden Fluches) bereiten eben so wenig eine Schwierigkeit, als die ausgeführte Beschreibung der 'bruchae' und 'locustae' in C §§ 3—4, der natürliche Ausfluss lebendiger keltischer Einbildungskraft; auch die Verlegung des Strafgerichtes von den Monaten September und Oktober auf das Johannesfest (§ 13) bedarf keiner besonderen Rechtfertigung. Wenn der letzte Satz in C § 9 und die entsprechende Stelle[1] in P einen auffallenden Unterschied zeigen, der an das Dogma von Hölle und Fegefeuer knüpft, so kommt uns ja P* zu Hilfe, und beweist, dass die Entwicklung in P (sie steht, wie mich dünkt, unter dem Einfluss der Gregorianischen Fegefeuerlehre, vgl *Dial.* 4, 39) nur als ein 'afterthought' Pehtreds oder eines späteren Redaktors seiner Homilie zu betrachten ist. Ein wirklicher Unterschied zeigt sich erst in § 9, Z. 1—2, wo P ganz allgemein von vierfüssigen Tieren spricht, die C absichtlich in Pferd und Ochs specialisiert haben müsste. Wenn sich ferner einzelne Verschiedenheiten bei der Aufzählung verbotener Sonntagsarbeiten finden (§§ 17—18, Z. 2), so darf das nicht

[1] Sie beruht auf einem populären Glauben, der seinen literarischen Niederschlag in der Pseudo-Bedaschen Homilie, nº. C (Migne, *Patr.* tom. 94, 501), erhalten hat (vgl. Schönbach, *Wiener Sitzungsberichte*, Bd. 135, S. 133). Wie Pehtred so hat auch ein bairischer Mönch, der in der ersten Hälfte des 13. Jh. ein Gedicht über die Sonntagsheiligung schrieb, eben diese Idee eingeführt, während seine Quelle, ein zu einer dritten Redaktion gehöriger lateinischer Brief Christi davon schweigt (vgl. meine Ausgabe der *Vronen Botschaft*, Graz, 1895, S. 53, v. 381—83). Dieselbe Entwicklung, die diese Ansicht in P* (C) auf der einen, in P auf der andern Seite zeigt, spiegelt sich übrigens auch in zwei deutschen Predigten wieder, abgedruckt in Kelles *Speculum ecclesiae*, S. 176, 33 und in der *Zeitschr. f. deut. Phil.* (1894), S. 148 ff.

Wunder nehmen; denn diese Bestimmungen waren dem jeweiligen kirchlichen und staatlichen Usus unterworfen und zudem, wenn irgendwo, so ist hier der Platz, an dem man auch mit Schreibererfindungen und -auslassungen—wir besitzen ja weder P noch C im ursprünglicher Gestalt—zu rechnen haben wird. So liessen sich denn diese Abweichungen wohl unschwer erklären; trotzdem wollen wir zunächst von vielleicht vorschnellen Folgerungen absehen und lieber einen Blick auf unsere zweite Hypothese werfen.

Wenn P und C unabhängig von einander auf dieselbe lateinische Quelle X zurückgehen sollen, so muss dieses X alle jene Punkte enthalten haben, die P und C gemeinsam sind, gegenüber M. Freilich M ist nur ein Repräsentant der Epistel unter vielen, aber ich bitte folgende Versicherung auf Treu und Glauben hinzunehmen: obgleich mir neben M noch zehn andere lateinische Glieder dieser Redaktion II bekannt sind und ebenso neben P und P* zwei andere ags. Versionen, endlich je eine in me., afr., altwalisischer und altčzechischer Sprache so enthält doch keiner dieser Texte[1] jene Stellen, zu denen ich in der Tabelle ein: 'M nihil' zu setzen hatte[2]. Besonders bemerkenswert ist aber, dass zwei darunter, nämliche jene, die (*a*) von der Ruhe der Seelen in der Hölle (§ 9, Z. 5—6), (*b*) von der Strafandrohung mittels fünf furchtbarer Tiere[3] (§ 11) handeln, gar nicht zu jenen Teilen von Pehtreds Homilie gehören, wo er direkt aus der Epistola citiert. Dies sowohl als auch die Tatsache, dass in keinem anderen Gliede der Redaktion II oder auch I eine Spur davon sich nachweisen lässt, macht es so gut wie sicher, dass diese Stellen nicht zum Gedankenbestand des 'Himmelsbriefes' gehören, und eben so fremd war diesem allen Anschein nach auch die Darstellung der Ereignisse, wie sie in P und C (§ 1) die Herabkunft der göttlichen Botschaft begleiten. In anderen Worten: X könnte nicht eine lateinische Epistel des M-(S) Typus gewesen sein, möglicherweise aber eine lateinische Homilie auf ihren Text basiert und mit Zusätzen nach Art der ebenerwähnten ausgestattet. Darnach würden wir folgendes Bild von der Verwandtschaft zwischen P und C zu entwerfen haben:



[1] Für eine kurze Aufführung der meisten derselben verweise ich auf 'John Audelay's *Poem*' etc. a. a. O. S. 397, Anm. 2—4 u. S. 398, Anm. 1.

[2] Die einzige Ausnahme bildet die *Dignatio diei Dominici*, vgl. oben zu §§ 14, 15.

[3] Auf diese komme ich noch zurück; die erste findet sich am Schlusse der *Dignatio*, zu der sie ursprünglich gewiss nicht gehörte.

Und in der Tat, wir werden diesen Stammbaum bestehen lassen dürfen, freilich nicht ohne der Bestimmung von X als lateinischer Homilie einen kleinen, jedoch wesentlichen Zusatz beizufügen. Dazu zwingt mich eine eingehendere Betrachtung der bereits erwähnten Stelle von den 'fünf Tieren.' Nachdem Pehtred (Napier, S. 221_{5-15}) die einleitenden Sätze der Epistola nach der S Gestalt citiert hat (oben §§ 3—4), bespricht er weiterhin (Z. 15—27)[1] die darin angedrohten göttlichen Strafen und fügt in einem Atem die eben gekennzeichnete neu hinzu. Dieser Straf-Kommentar, auf jeden Fall aber der Zusatz—denn C hat ihn ja auch—müssten also dem hypothetischen X angehören. Die Herkunft dieser fünf so plötzlich hereingeschneiten Tiere hat mich lange Zeit beschäftigt, bis mir in n°. XLII der *Wulfstan Homilien*, die *de temporibus Antichristi* betitelt ist, folgende Stelle aufstiess: S. 200_{8-10} 'þonne cumað up of helle egeslice mycele deor swylce swa næfre ær gesawene wæron oð ðone timan.' Aus der nun folgenden Beschreibung (Z. 10—20) geht zur Evidenz hervor, dass der Prediger unter diesen 'egeslice, micele deor' nichts anderes verstand, als die 'locustae' der *Apoc.* ix, 7—10. Nun bin ich aber meiner Sache ziemlich sicher, wenn ich behaupte, dass auch diese Homilie Pehtred zuzusprechen ist. Einmal klingt P (S. 225_{20-25}) sehr stark an eine Stelle dieser Predigt an S. 202_{23}–203_1, ferner scheint mir die Art, wie der Homilist S. 197_{19-20} über den þôr- und Owðendienst der Heiden, natürlich der Nordleute, spricht, weit eher auf die Vikinger Periode—und das ist ja Pehtreds Zeit—zu weisen als auf das 11. Jh., die Zeit Wulfstans. Wichtiger ist jedoch folgendes: In dem Briefe Bischof Egreds an Erzbischof Wulfsige liest man mit Bezug auf einen beanstandeten Satz in Pehtreds Buch: 'De die judicii vel hora, Domino attestante, quis scit nisi Ille solus.' Stimmen dazu nicht folgende zwei Stellen in Predigt XLII ganz trefflich? S. 202_{6-9}: 'we agan þy swyðe micle þearfe, þæt we wið swylcne ege wære beon...forþam þe hit is nyr þam timan þonne ungelærede men gelyfan wyllað,' und ebd. Z. 19—22: 'and we geseoð and gelomlice gecnawað be ðam tacnum, þe Crist sylf foresæde, þæt hit georne nealæcð to ðam dome þe he sylf to cymð[2].' Unter solchen Umständen muss man doch wohl annehmen, dass Pehtred selbst, sozusagen von seinem Eigentum zehrend, jener Stelle von den 'gräss-

[1] Der Satz (Z. 27—28); 'þis wæs geworden an Egiptalande' gehörte sicher nicht dem Original an, sondern war einmal eine Randnotiz (hervorgerufen durch die Übereinstimmung dieser Strafen mit einzelnen der ägyptischen Plagen), die auf irgend einer Stufe der Überlieferung in den Text sich einschlich.

[2] Darnach wird man ähnliche Stellen in Prosaschriften oder Dichtungen nicht mehr ohne weiteres, wie das wohl geschehen ist, zur Datierung: 'am Ausgang des Milleniums' verwenden dürfen. Vgl. dazu besonders auch E. Wadstein, *Die eschatologische Ideengruppe*, 1896, S. 7 ff.

lichen Tieren' in P einen Platz gönnte. Daraus flösse aber in logischer Konsequenz, dass der Ire, der ihm hierin selbst mit Bezug auf die Anzahl[1] der Tiere folgt, direkt aus ihm geschöpft haben müsse. So wären wir also doch wieder bei unserer ersten Hypothese angelangt. Gewiss und wir müssten sogar die m. E. freilich nicht unüberwindbare Schwierigkeit in den Kauf nehmen, dass ein Ire des 9. Jh. genügend ags. verstand, um aus dieser Sprache zu übersetzen, wenn sich uns nicht ein anderer Weg öffnete, der uns nun rasch zum Ziele führen soll.

Pehtred verstand Latein; das ergab sich ja gleich zu Anfang unserer Untersuchung aus der Einfügung einer lateinischen Briefstelle in P; wir betonten auch, dass der *Liber Pehtredi*, von dem Egred spricht, in dieser Sprache mag abgefasst gewesen sein. Was hindert uns dann folgende Ansicht auszusprechen? Indem er gelegentliche Anleihen bei der Bibel[2] machte, ein- oder zweimal auch bei einer von ihm bereits früher verfassten Predigt, schliesslich vielleicht auch eine nun unter Bedas Namen gehende Homilie benutzte[3], schuf er einen lateinischen Himmelsbrief des Typus M-(S), der irgendwie in seine Hände gekommen war, zu einer lateinischen Homilie um, mit anderen Worten: er selbst war der Verfasser unseres X, dem wir also in dem voraufgehenden Stammbaum nur seinen Namen beizufügen haben. Bleibt aber diese Ansicht zu recht bestehen, dann erklären sich uns als notwendige Begleiterscheinung jeder Umschrift in eine Vulgärsprache noch ungezwungener die an sich ja geringen Differenzen zwischen P und C, deren wichtigste wir früher herausheben[4]; dann aber erklärt es sich auch erst, warum in P, der Bearbeitung eines lateinischen Koncepts, viele der mit C übereinkommenden Stellen in anderer Reihenfolge sich finden und endlich, dass ein wesentlicher Teil des Inhalts von P, von dem sogleich die Rede sein wird, in C absolut fehlt. Und nun, um unser Haus einzudecken: Pehtred, so schliessen wir weiter, muss mit einem irischen Kleriker zusammengetroffen sein, muss im Gespräche mit ihm—sie bedienten sich sagen wir des Lateinischen—den wundersamen Brief erwähnt haben, der für ihn vielleicht keine Fiktion bedeutete, und wird ihm schliesslich sein lateinisches Konzept darüber zur Abschrift überlassen haben.

[1] Wieso Pehtred gerade auf die Zahl 'fünf' verfiel, weiss ich nicht zu sagen, es sei denn, dass er sie von der Zeitdauer 'fif monðas' (*quinque menses*) nahm, während welcher die apokalyptischen Tiere die Menschheit plagen durften und für die er hier keine Verwendung sah.

[2] Vgl. *Otia Merseiana*, S. 145, wo ich einzelnes dieser Art zusammengestellt habe.

[3] Oder ist er am Ende gar ihr Verfasser?

[4] So würde z. B. auch die Stelle 'five huge beasts and hideous' (*cóic biasta móra grannai*) in C § 11 ein *quinque bestiae magnae et horridae* (vgl. *egeslice micèle deor* in Homilie XLII) in X voraussetzen, wo P nur *V deor* hat; freilich könnte hier auch eine blosse Schreibernachlässigkeit vorliegen. In dem stark verderbten P* fehlt diese Stelle, wie so viele andere.

Das könnte, wie ich früher meinte, bei einem Besuche Pehtreds in Irland geschehen sein, viel wahrscheinlicher dünkt mich jetzt aber doch, dass eines Tages bei Regen oder Sonnenschein ein wandernder irischer Geistliche bei dem Parochialpriester Pehtred einkehrte. An sich bei der Wanderwut hibernischer Kleriker oder ihrem frommen Wunsche 'for godes lufan on elþiodignesse beon' nichts erstaunliches. Wissen uns doch, um nur einiges zu erwähnen, die ags. *Chronik*[1], das *Buch von Leinster*[2] oder Bridfertus im *Leben des hl. Dunstan*[3] von solchen irischen Wandervögeln zu erzählen; und sollte nicht gerade Northumbria für viele von ihnen ein verlockendes Fahrtziel gewesen sein, jenes Land, das ja ihrer Kirche seine Christianisierung in erster Linie verdankte, in dem der sanfte Aidan, dessen Gebeine auch nach dem Abzug der Scotti zum Teil wenigstens in Lindisfarne verbleiben, dann Finan und Colman gelebt und gewirkt, und das auch Adamnan besucht hatte? Wie dem auch sei, der Kern unserer Annahme—Pehtreds Zusammentreffen mit einem irischen Kleriker—lässt sich schlechterdings nicht anzweifeln, denn wer anders, als ein Ire könnte ihm nun seinerseits von einer Sache erzählt haben, die sich eben erst c. 824 in Irland zugetragen hatte und nicht vor 859 in irischen Annalen Aufnahme fand, könnte ihm erzählt haben von Niall Mac Iallain, der am Schlagfluss darniederliegend, weder Speise noch Trank berührte, wohl aber viele Visionen hatte, die teils wahr, teils falsch waren[4]. Und dieser Bericht —er war gewiss farbenreicher als der trockene Annalenstil verrät—verfehlte nicht seinen Eindruck auf Pehtred. Er fügte ihn, so gut das gieng, seiner Homilie über die göttliche Botschaft ein und das Resultat dieses Flickwerkes, dessen Nähte man noch sieht, war, je nachdem der *Liber Pehtredi* Bischof Egred lat. oder ags. zu denken ist, ein X[1], aus dem Pehtred dann für praktische Predigtzwecke P ausgearbeitet haben müsste, oder (ohne dieses lateinische Zwischenglied) P, genauer dessen Archetypus, denn unsere Überlieferung stammt ja erst aus dem XI. Jh.

Überschauen wir das bisher gesagte, so führt alles zu dem einfachen und wie mich däucht, sicheren Schlusse hin: das Verhältnis zwischen

[1] Vgl. Ch. Plummer, *Two of the Saxon Chronicles*, I, S. 82 (ad ann. 891) und II, S. 103.
[2] Plummer, *ibid.* II, S. 104. Vgl. ferner H. Zimmer, *The Celtic Church* (translated by A. Meyer, London, 1902), p. 71 ff., und besonders p. 91 f. [3] Migne, 139, c. 1429.
[4] Diesen historischen Kern der Niallsgeschichte, wie sie uns in P entgegentritt, habe ich unterstützt von meinem Freunde Kuno Meyer, *Otia Merseiana*, S. 144 blosgelegt. Hier sei nur der Eintrag in den Annalen von Ulster (Hennessy, Dublin, 1887) wiederholt: I, S. 371. A.D. 859. 'Niall, son of Iallan, who suffered from paralysis during 34 years, and who was disturbed by frequent visions, as well false as true, rested in Christ.' [859 - 34 = 824.] Hinzufügen kann ich jetzt noch den wichtigen Eintrag derselben Annalen A.D. 825: 'Great fears throughout all Ireland, viz. a forewarning of a plague by *Mac Iellaen of Munster*,' sowie seine namentliche Anführung am Rande von Bl. 131ᵛ des Berner *Codex Bongarsianus* 363 (vgl. *Zeits. f. kelt. Phil.* IV, 182 f.).

P und C, zwischen dem Northumbrier Pehtred und dem Iren, dessen Name uns wohl stets verborgen bleiben wird, lässt sich im letzten Grunde auf ein gegenseitiges Geben und Nehmen zurückführen.

Was mir an diesem Resultate aber am wichtigsten erscheint, ist doch der Umstand, dass wir hier einmal handgreiflich eine direkte literarische Beziehung zwischen Irland und Northumbrien feststellen konnten, die ihre Ursache im mündlichen Gedankenaustausch hat. Da sich gewiss nicht annehmen lässt, dass der hier beobachtete konkrete Fall einzig in seiner Art ist, so wird man die Möglichkeit mündlicher Verbreitung stofflicher Motive durch irische Kleriker in England sowohl als auf dem Kontinent, wohl stärker ins Auge zu fassen haben, als es meines Wissens bisher geschehen ist. Auch brauchen es nicht immer Visionsgeschichten oder andere geistlicher Art gewesen zu sein, die der wandernde Kleriker seinem sesshaften Amtsbruder, der irische Mönch in einem englischen oder deutschen Kloster seinen Confratribus erzählte, oder wie sie des Studiums befliessene junge Franken, besonders aber Angelsachsen (klagt doch Aldhelm über ihre grosse Zahl) in irischen Klöstern zu hören bekamen. Vielleicht das meiste davon mag unfruchtbar verhallt sein; allein einiges wird—das bezeugt ja eben obige Tatsache—zum literarischen Niederschlag gelangt sein, anderes, ehe es dazu kam, sich lange mündlich nach der Weise der Volksmärchen im fremden Lande weiter verbreitet haben, bald nicht mehr unterscheidbar vom Eigengut[1].

Wir kehren nach dieser Abschweifung noch einmal zur Sonntagsepistel in der *Cáin Domnaig* zurück. Obige Untersuchung gewährt für sie den terminus a quo, nämlich c. 830. Nun wäre es ja möglich, dass

[1] Sollte wohl die Sage von der verlorenen Kirche, die in Uhlands bekanntem Gedicht (Fränkel, Bd. 2, S. 274) und Andersens verwandtem Märchen poetischen Widerhall gefunden hat, hieher gehören? In den Noten zum altirischen Kalender des Oengus (vgl. *On the Calendar of Oengus* by Whitley Stokes, *Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy*, Dublin, 1880) lesen wir unter dem 7. Mai mit Bezug auf die Begräbnisstätte eines irischen Heiligen Breccán (Whitley Stokes, a. a. O., p. lxxxiv): 'With Breccán i.e. of Echdruim Breccáin on the confine of Dalaradia and Dalriada. In Daire Echdroma i.e. in the north of Dalaradia on the confine of Dalaradia and Dalriada he is (d. h. liegt er begraben). Or it is in Mucraime in the west of Connaught that Daire Echdroma is, and the tree of the church (d. h. eine Eiche wie man sie vor die Kirchen zu pflanzen pflegte) is seen from the plain, and when one goes to seek it in the oakwood it is not found, and the voice of the bell is heard, and the psalmody there, and the church itself is not found.' Dass die Legende, die sich um das Kirchlein des Heiligen gebildet hat, alt ist, d. h. jedesfalls in die Zeit hinaufreicht, als irische Kleriker und Mönche in grosser Zahl nach dem Kontinent wanderten und deutsche Klöster zu bevölkern halfen (vgl. *Zeitschr. f. deutsch. Altert.* 31, 199 ff.), ist zweifellos. Wie leicht kann in einem solchen von einem irischen Mönch oder Pilger die geheimnisvolle Sage erzählt und durch den Mund seiner Confratres, resp. Gastgeber, vielleicht durch die Predigt als Bindeglied, weiter verbreitet und so allmählich, losgelöst von Person und Ort, in immer breitere Schichten der Bevölkerung gedrungen sein. Will man diese Argumentation nicht gelten lassen, so bleibt wohl nichts übrig, als selbständigen Ursprung des Motives bei beiden Völkern anzunehmen.

nicht unser Anonymus selbst seine Abschrift von X in der Volkssprache bearbeitet hat, sondern ein in späterer Zeit lebender Landsmann desselben. Aber die Sprache des irischen Stückes kann, wie Kuno Meyer mir mitteilt, dem 9. Jh. zuerteilt werden. Wenn der Papst, wie wir gesehen haben (§ 1) einfach als 'Abbot of Rome' bezeichnet wird, so mag es immerhin Erwähnung verdienen, dass in einem Texte des 9. Jh. der *Vision des Adamnan* Papst Sylvester, und in einem Gedichte, das in dem ältesten irischen Martyrologium aufgeführt wird, Gregor der Grosse genau so genannt werden[1]; und wenn das Sonntagsgesetz, die eigentliche *Cáin Domnaig*, welche sich unmittelbar (§§ 23—33) an die Sonntagsepistel anschliesst, unter den erlaubten Ausnahmen von der Sonntagsruhe anführt: 'fleeing before pagans' (§ 32), worauf wird sich das sonst beziehen, als auf die plündernden Vikingerhorden, die Pest Irlands im 9. Jh.? So findet sich also im ganzen irischen Texte nichts, was gegen obiges Datum (c. 830) sprechen würde: man wird daher keinen Grund haben die Abfassungszeit der Epistel allzuweit von dem *terminus a quo* abzurücken oder einen anderen Verfasser als jenen irischen Kleriker, der Pehtred das Material zur Niallepisode lieferte, anzunehmen.

Nur müssen wir uns mit einem Eintrag der Annalen von Ulster zum Jahre 886[2] kurz auseinandersetzen. Sie schreiben: 'Eine Epistel kam mit dem Pilgrim nach Irland mit der *Cáin Domnaig* und anderen guten Instruktionen.' Bezieht sich das auf unsere Epistel? Es scheint so, doch wenn die Annalen der vier Meister (editio John O'Donovan, 1856) unter dem Jahr 884 melden: 'Ananloen, der Pilger, kam nach Irland mit der Epistel, die vom Himmel gegeben ward zu *Jerusalem*, mit der Cáin Domhneigh und guten Instruktionen,' so sieht der Kundige aus dem einen Worte *Jerusalem* sofort, dass es sich hier nicht um unsere Epistel, die des M-(S) Typus, handeln kann: denn *Jerusalem ante portam Effrem* ist der Ort, an dem jene Brief-Gruppe vom Himmel gefallen zu sein vorgibt, die ich als Redaktion I bezeichne, die eine bedeutende Rolle auf dem Kontinent gespielt und auch ihren Weg nach England gefunden hat[3]. Damit ist auch dieser Stein des Anstosses aus dem Wege geräumt.

Eine letzte Frage harrt der Erklärung. Wie stimmt unsere Datierung zu dem Inhalt der §§ C 20–22, der Nachschrift zur Sonntagsepistel? Sie besagt, dass Conall Mac Coelmaine, der nach O'Keeffe St Columba verwandt war und c. 590 starb, auf einer

[1] Zimmer, a. a. O., S. 94.
[2] Vgl. O'Keeffe, a. a. O., S. 190.
[3] Vgl. *Otia Merseiana*, S. 130—39.

Pilgerreise nach Rom die Sonntagsepistel mit eigener Hand abgeschrieben habe aus dem Briefe, der vom Himmel auf den Altar St Peters des Apostels, zu Rom gefallen sei; da es an der Zeit war, seinen Schrein zu erheben (d. h. als seine Gebeine [relics[1]] in einem Schrein zur Ruhestätte getragen werden sollten), da habe der Heilige einem Kleriker, der in der Sonnabendnacht vor dem Schreine einschlief, in einer Vision geoffenbart, dass die Epistel sich in der Lade befinde und habe ihm befohlen, daselbst nach ihr zu suchen und sie aller Welt laut zu verkünden.

Nun ist die Fiktion der Himmelsbriefe, wie ich oben S. 138 sagte, allerdings zur Zeit, da Conall gelebt haben soll, entstanden; dennoch kann diese Übereinstimmung nur ein Spiel des Zufalls sein, da ja Alter der erschlossenen Quelle X und Sprache der irischen Epistel sie ins 9. Jh. verweisen. Zudem würden schon die auf den Reliquienkult bezüglichen Worte nach Zimmer nicht erlauben, diese Notiz über das achte oder, wenn der Süden Irlands in Betracht käme, über die Mitte des siebenten Jahrhunderts hinabzurücken. Doch können wir, meine ich, auch die Gründe sehen, die zu ihrer Einführung Anlass gaben. Von den beiden Autoritäten, die Pehtred für die Echtheit der Epistel ins Feld geführt hatte, behält der Ire im Text nur die eine, den Papst ('abbot of Rome'), ja er ist sogar gescheit genug den fingierten Namen 'Florentius' zu vermeiden, der so leicht zur Entdeckung des Betruges führen konnte[2]; an die Stelle des zweiten aber, so möchte ich schliessen, an den Platz des Bischofs Peter, der unmittelbar neben dem Papst eigentlich nur eine Statistenrolle spielt, setzt er in deutlich abgehobener Weise einen irischen Heiligen und gewinnt dadurch den Vorteil, seinen Landsleuten einleuchtend erklären zu können, wie der Brief Christi nach Erin gebracht worden sei[3]. Darin folgte er schliesslich nur dem Beispiele anderer Iren, die ihre eigenen Schriften etwa einem Benen, Columb Cille, Cormac u. a. unterschoben[4]. Wenn er gerade den sonst so wenig bekannten Conall einführt, so könnte dieser Umstand im Verein mit

[1] Vgl. z. B. Annalen von Ulster: A.D. 800. Bergung der 'relics' Conlaeds in einem Schreine von Gold und Silber; für den Reliquienkult in Irland überhaupt s. Zimmer, a. a. O., S. 121—29.

[2] Und das geschah auch in Pehtreds Fall; man vgl. Egreds Brief: 'In nostris enim scriptis ubi nomina pontificum apostolicae sedis habemus nomen Florentii Papae non invenimus.'

[3] Eine nicht weniger komplicierte Maschinerie ward fast vierhundert Jahre (1201) später erfunden, um zu erklären, wie Eustace, der Abt von Flay in der Normandie, in den Besitz der Epistola Christi kam, die er, merkwürdig genug, wie Pehtred in der Provinz York predigte. Vgl. Rogeri Wendover, *Flores Historiarum*, herausg. von H. G. Hewlett, Bd. I, S. 297.

[4] Vgl. Whitley Stokes, *Félire Oengusso* (1880), S. 6.

der leider mehrdeutigen Erwähnung von Ara Mór (§ 20)[1] und unserer Kenntnis von Munster, als Heimat Nialls Mac Iallain (oben S. 149, Anm. 4), eine beachtenswerte Spur auch für die Heimat unseres Klerikers abgeben.

Ich begnüge mich mit einem Hinweis darauf. Im übrigen steckt seine Darstellung hier voll traditioneller Züge. Lässt er den Heiligen auf eine Pilgerreise nach Rom gehen, wovon historisch nichts bekannt zu sein scheint, so legt er ihm nur bei, was er selbst oft genug gesehen oder gehört haben wird[2]; und lässt er einen Priester auf Befehl des Heiligen die Epistel aus dem Schreine nehmen, so steht wohl die Erzählung von dem Engels-Buch ('the Angel's gospel'), das Columb Cille durch des Engels Hand aus dem Schreine S. Patriks erhielt, nicht allzu weit ab. Doch wozu nach weiteren Parallelen suchen? Wir wollen lieber der Einbildungskraft des Klerikers, die sich ja auch oben §§ 3—4 zeigte, ihr Recht zugestehen, derselben Kraft, die auch seinen kontinentalen Amstbruder, den Redaktor von S, die Kopie seines Himmelsbriefes mit den Worten schliessen lässt: 'Edum essem (*sc.* Peter Bischof von Nîmes) vigilans media noctis orans pro facinora (!) mala mea audivi hanc vocem et inveni hanc epistolam,' derselben Kraft, die ferner auch in den Einleitungen und Schlüssen der orientalischen Briefe ihre erstaunlichsten Blüten treibt.

R. Priebsch.

[Nachschrift: Die voraufgehenden Ausführungen waren bereits im MS. abgeschlossen, als Professor M. Förster die Freundlichkeit hatte, mir seine Abhandlung *Altenglische Predigtquellen* (Herrigs *Archiv*, cxvi, 301 ff.) zuzusenden. S. 308—310 erweist Förster den *Tractatus de Antichristo* (Migne, *Patr. lat.* tom. xl, 1131 und ci, 1291 vgl. auch *Zeitschr. f. deut. Altert.*, 10, 265) als Quelle der 42. Wulfstan Homilie, derselben, von der ich oben wahrscheinlich zu machen suchte, dass sie Pehtred zum Verfasser habe. Dies wäre nun freilich ausgeschlossen, falls der Traktat, wie man gemeiniglich annimmt, das Werk des Abtes Adso († 992) wäre. Ohne auf diese Frage hier im einzelnen eingehen zu wollen—der Kern meines Aufsatzes wird dadurch ja auch nicht berührt, ob nun jene Homilie Pehtreds Eigentum ist oder nicht—möchte ich nur folgende Punkte hervorheben: (1) das Charakteristische in der dem Adso zugeschriebenen Form des Traktates (Migne, ci, 1291) ist der

[1] S. auch O'Keeffe, a. a. O., S. 212.

[2] Vgl. Zimmer, a. a. O., S. 72; aus etwas späterer Zeit s. Annalen von Ulster a.d. 928. 'Céile...a scribe and anchorite and Apostolic doctor of all Ireland rested happily at Rome, on his pilgrimage.'

Passus, worin der ultimus imperator der byzantinischen Sage zum Frankenkönig gemacht wird[1]. Diese Stelle fehlt nicht nur der ags. Homilie, sondern auch dem Traktat in der Form wie er bei Migne, XL, 1131 (und auch in mehreren Hss. des British Museum) steht mit dem Anfang: 'De Antichristo scire volentes.' Warum diese Textgestalt (B), falls sie die jüngere wäre, diese interessante Beziehung ausgelassen haben sollte, ist schwer ersichtlich. (2) Die Stelle im Widmungsschreiben Adsos an Gerberga 'sicut mihi servo vestro dignata estis precipere volui aliqua vobis scribere, et de Antichristo ex parte certam reddere' genügt gewiss nicht zum Beweis von Adsos Verfasserschaft, denn er kann auch ohne diese Worte Lügen zu strafen, recht wohl einen älteren Traktat, der aus Bibelstellen und aus Lehrmeinungen der Kirchenväter zusammengestellt war ('non autem quod dico ex proprio sensu fingo vel excogito in libris authenticis diligenter relegendo haec omnia scripta invenio,' Migne, XL, 1131 = CI, 1292 B) mit Haut und Haaren (oder doch nur mit geringen Abänderungen) ausgeschrieben haben, gerade so gut, wie der Klausner Alwinus in Gorze bei Metz für die Vorrede, abgesehen von leichten, durch die Widmung an Heribert von Köln veranlassten Änderungen, ihn selbst, für das übrige den Text der B Gestalt ausschrieb. (3) Es ist auffallend, dass gerade jene Stellen, die so gut zum *liber Pehtredi* und jener anderen Homilie (P) stimmen—die Zeitbestimmung des jüngsten Gerichtes und die Höllentiere—in allen Fassungen des Traktates (ich habe neben dem Material bei Migne auch mehrere Hss. des British Museum verglichen) absolut fehlen. Ich bleibe dabei, dass Pehtred hier seine Hand im Spiel hatte. Und deshalb dünkt es mich doch höchst wahrscheinlich, dass beiden—der Homilie (n°. XLII) und Adsos Traktat—eine gemeinsame ältere Quelle zugrunde liegt, die man gern, wennschon nicht notwendigerweise, Alcuin wegen seiner nahen Beziehungen zu England zuschreiben möchte.]

[1] Es scheint erwähnenswert, dass eine hier dem Alcuin zugeschriebene *Vita Antichristi*, Bl. 138r des MS. Additional 11619 diesen Abschnitt enthält; sie unterscheidet sich nur durch das Fehlen der Vorrede und des Epilogs von Adsos Traktat.

THOMAS LODGE AS AN IMITATOR OF THE ITALIAN POETS.

THE extent of Lodge's indebtedness to the French poets of the sixteenth century, notably to Ronsard and Desportes, has already been pointed out—to a certain degree by Mr A. H. Bullen in the Introduction (pp. vii—xv) to his *Lyrics from Elizabethan Romances* (1890), and more particularly by Mr Sidney Lee in the Introduction (pp. lxiv ff.) to *Elizabethan Sonnets* (1904), and lastly, by myself in the *Athenaeum*, No. 4017 (October 22, 1904). In the present note, I propose to show that Lodge did not confine his attention to the French poets, but was almost as fond of making raids on Italian as on French ground. I will take the sonnet-cycle *Phillis*, on which Lodge's fame as a poet has hitherto mainly rested, to exemplify my contention, hoping some day to show that the romances also were inspired in part by Italian models.

To begin with, sonnet XVII of *Phillis* ('Ah fleeting weale, ah slie deluding sleepe') is a close rendering of Sannazaro's 'Ahi letizia fugace, ahi sonno lieve,' as will be seen at once by placing the two *en regard*:

Ah fleeting weale, ah slie deluding sleepe,
That in one moment giuest me ioye and paine:
How doe my hopes dissolue to teares in vaine?
As wount the Snowes, fore angrie sunne to weepe?
Ah noysome life that hath no weale in keepe,
My forward griefe hath forme and working might,
My pleasures like the shaddowes take their flight:

Ahi letizia fugace, ahi sonno lieve,
Che mi dai gioja e pena in un momento:
Come le mie speranze hai sparte al vento,
E fatto ogni mia gloria al sol di neve?
Lasso, il mio viver sia nojoso e greve;
Sì profondo dolor nell' alma sento,
Ch'al mondo or non sarebbe uom sì contento,
Se non fosse il mio ben stato sì brieve.
Felice Endimion, che la sua Diva
Sognando sì gran tempo in braccio tenne;

My pathe to blisse is tedious long and steepe.
Twise happie thou Endemion that embracest,
The liue-long night thy loue within thine armes:
Where thou fond dreame my longed weale defacest,
Whilest fleeting and vncertaine shaddes thou placest
Before my eies with false deluding charmes.
Ah instant sweetes which do my heart reuiue,
How should I ioy if you were true aliue?

E più, se al destar poi non gli fu schiva.
Che se d'un' ombra incerta e fuggitiva
Tal dolcezza in un punto al cor mi venne;
Qual sarebbe ora averla vera e viva?

As Lodge copied a good many of his sonnets from Desportes, himself an inveterate plagiarist from the Italians, it might be supposed that Lodge's immediate source was Desportes and not Sannazaro. In the present case, however, there can be no doubt, as the sonnet of Sannazaro quoted above is not one of those appropriated by Desportes from the author of the Arcadia[1].

Sonnet XXVI of *Phillis* ('Ile teach thee lovely Phillis, what loue is') is obviously an adaptation of Bembo's famous *Capitolo*: 'Amor e Donne care un vano e fello,' so frequently copied in the sixteenth century, while No. XXV ('I wage the combat with two mightie foes') is clearly suggested by Petrarch's 'Due gran nemiche insieme erano aggiunte.'

Several of the Phillis sonnets are filched from the *Rime volgari* of Lodovico Paschale, published at Venice in 1549. This rather obscure Venetian appears to have been a favourite of Lodge, who incorporated—with acknowledgements this time—one of his sonnets in *A Margarite of America* (1596). Mr Sidney Lee (*op. cit.*, p. lxxiii) has already supposed that some of the sonnets to Phillis come from that source, but as he gives no instances and the *Rime* of Paschale are extremely rare, I have thought it worth while to prove that three at least of Lodge's sonnets are drawn from the Italian poet.

In the first case (*Phillis*, No. II), the translation is fairly literal, in spite of a few changes in the proper names:

[1] On Desportes' plagiarisms from the Italian poets cf. Francesco Flamini, *Studi di storia letteraria italiana e straniera*, Livorno, 1895, pp. 347—379, 433—439, who most appropriately describes Desportes as 'un poeta italiano camuffato alla francese.'

You sacred Sea-nimphes pleasantly disporting,
Amidst this watrie world, where now I saile:
If euer loue, or louers sad reporting,
Had power sweet teares from your faire eyes to hayle:
And you more gentle-hearted then the rest,
Vnder the Northren Noon-stede sweetly streaming:
Lend those moyst riches of your christall crest,
To quench the flames from my hearts Ætna steaming.
And thou kinde Triton in thy trompet relish,
The ruthfull accents of my discontent:
That midst this treauell desolate and hellish,
Some gentle winde that listens my lament
May prattle in the north in Phillis eares,
Where Phillis wants Damon consumes in teares.

Ninfe de'l mar che con soave errore
Solcate l'onda placida e tranquilla
Se mai d'amor sentiste in voi favilla
Pietà vi mova il mio crudel dolore,
Et voi c'havete più benigno il core
Vaga Arethusa e gratiosa Scilla
De'l vostro humor spargete qualche stilla
Ne'l vivo incendio de'l mio fiero ardore,
Et tu Triton nella tua cava tromba
Queste parole con tal forza inspira
Che la mia donna intenda l'alto grido,
Il tuo, fidel; là dove il mar ribomba
E'l vento freme e non si scerne il lido
Di se non cura, e sol per te sospira.

In the second case (*Phillis,* No. VI) Lodge's rendering follows the Italian model more closely:

It is not death which wretched men call dying,
But that is very death which I endure:
When my coy looking Nimph (hir grace enuying,)
By fatall frownes my domage doth procure.
It is not life which we for life approue,
But that is life when on hir woul-soft pappes,
I seale sweet kisses, which do batten loue:
And doubling them do treble my good happes.
Tis neither loue the sonne, nor loue the mother,
Which louers praise and pray to; but that loue is,
Which she in eye and I in heart do smother,
Then muse not tho I glory in my misse.
Since she who holdes my heart, and me in durance,
Hath life, death, loue and all in hir procureance.

Morte non è quel che morir s'appella
Ma quella è vera morte ch'io supporto
Quando Madonna di pietà rubella
A me rivolge il guardo acerbo e torto,
Il viver non è vita, vita è quella
Ch'io provo, se talhor, per mio conforto
La Donna mia ch'è più d'ogn' altra bella,
Mi sia cortese d'un bel guardo accorto,
Amor non è quel ch'è d'amanti Duce
Amor è quel che da begl' occhi viene
Che m'han acceso il cor con la sua luce,
S'io dunque godo, in stracci affanni, e pene
Maraviglia non è, ch'à ciò m'induce
Chi Morte, Vita, Amor, ne gl'occhi tiene.

In the last case (*Phillis*, No. XVIII), the English poet is still more literal:

As where two raging venomes are vnited,
(Which of themselues disseuered life would seuer;)
The sickly wretch of sicknesse is acquited,
Which else should die, or pine in torments euer,
So fire, and frost, that holde my heart in seasure,
Restore those ruines which themselues haue wrought,
Where if a part they both had had their pleasure,
The earth long since, hir fatall claime had cought.
Thus two vnited deathes, keepe me from dying,
I burne in Ice, and quake amidst the fire:
No hope midest these exteames or fauour spyinge,
Thus loue makes me a Martir in his yre.
So that both colde and heate do rather feed,
My ceaslesse paines, then any comfort breede.

Qual duo Veneni uniti l'huom tal' ora
Soglion d'affanno trar, è di tormento,
Che se fusser disgiunti in un momento
Ogn' un di lor cagion di morte fora,
Tal, se mi strugge il foco; mi ristora
Quel freddo ghiaccio che ne'l petto sento,
Ch'ognun per se m'havria di vita spento
Ma fan due morti unite ch'io non mora,
Ardo ne'l ghiaccio e tremo in mezzo 'l foco
Tra duo contrarij mi tormenta Amore
Ne veder posso il fin di questo gioco,
Ne se ne'l ghiaccio son a tutte l'hore,
Ne s'ardo puo schemarsi molto o poco
Anzi più cresce ogn' hor il mio dolore.

Another favourite Italian poet of Lodge's was Lodovico Dolce, more famous in his day as a playwright and commentator than as a lyric poet. Lodge borrowed from him for his *Margarite* several sonnets and one lyric piece (a sestina, probably the earliest in English literature) which he describes as 'written in imitation of Dolce, the Italian poet.' Thus it might be supposed that Lodge utilized Dolce as well as Paschale. An examination of those of his sonnets (some four score) which I have come across in the various Italian anthologies of the sixteenth century, has not confirmed that supposition, however, but as I was unable to lay my hands on the collected *Rime* of Dolce in any of the English libraries I consulted, it will be as well not to be too affirmative. Vincenzo Martelli, who is also quoted by Lodge in *A Margarite of America*, did not contribute the matter for any of the sonnets to Phillis, but a far greater poet than any of these, namely Lodovico Ariosto, served as the model for as many as five of the sonnets to Phillis. Leaving aside No. XXI ('Ye heraultes of my heart, mine ardent groanes'), already identified, I will content myself with printing the four following sonnets of Lodge, together with their originals in Ariosto. This course, better than any words, I venture to think, will enable the reader to appreciate the close dependence of Lodge on the author of *Orlando Furioso*:

Phillis, XX.

Some praise the lookes, and others praise the lockes,
Of their faire Queenes, in loue with curious wordes:
Some laud the breast where loue his treasure locks,
All like the eie that life and loue affordes.
But none of these fraile beauties and vnstable
Shall make my pen ryot in pompous stile:
More greater giftes shall my graue muse enable,
Whereat seuerer browes shall neuer smile.
I praise hir honny-sweeter eloquence,
Which from the fountaine of true wisdome floweth:
Hir modest meane that matcheth exelence,
Hir matchlesse faith which from hir vertue groweth:
And could my stile hir happie vertues equale,
Time had no power hir glories to enthrale.

Phillis, XXII.

Faire art thou Phillis, I so faire (sweet mayd)
As nor the sunne, nor I haue seene more faire,
For in thy cheekes sweet roses are embayde,
And golde more pure than gold doth guilde thy haire.
Sweet Bees haue hiu'd their hony on thy tongue,
And Hebe spic't hir Necter with thy breath:
About thy necke do all the graces thronge,
And lay such baites as might entangle death.
In such a breast what heart would not be thrall?
From such sweet armes who would not wish embraces?
At thy faire handes who wonders not at all,
Wounder it selfe through ignorance embases?
Yet naithelesse tho wonderous giftes you call these,
My faith is farre more wonderfull than all these.

Sonetto XV.

Altri loderà il viso, altri le chiome
Della sua donna, altri l'avorio bianco,
Onde formò Natura il petto e'l fianco,
Altri darà a'begli occhi eterno nome.
Me non bellezza corruttibil, come
Un ingegno divino, ha mosso unquanco;
Un animo così libero e franco,
Come non senta le corporee some;
Una chiara eloquenza che deriva
Da un fonte di sapere; una onestade
Di cortesi atti, e leggiadria non schiva.
Chè s'in me fosse l'arte alla bontade
Della materia ugual, ne farei viva
Statua che dureria più d'una etade.

Sonetto XXV.

Madonna, sete bella, e bella tanto,
Ch'io non veggio di voi cosa più bella;
Miri la fronte, o l'una e l'altra stella,
Che mi scorgon la via col lume santo:
Miri la bocca, a cui sola do vanto,
Che dolce ha il riso e dolce ha la favella;
E l'aureo crine, onde Amor fece quella
Rete che mi fu tesa d'ogni canto:
O di terso alabastro il collo e'l seno,
O braccio o mano: e quanto finalmente
Di voi si mira, e quanto se ne crede:
Tutto è mirabil certo: nondimeno
Non starò ch'io non dica arditamente,
Che più mirabil molto è la mia fede.

Phillis, XXVII.

Faire eyes whilest fearefull I your faire admire,
By vnexpressed sweetnes that I gaine,
My memory of sorrow doth expire,
And faulcon like I tower ioyes heauens amaine:
But when your sonnes in Oceans of their glory,
Shut vppe their day-bright shine, I dye for thought:
So passe my ioyes as doth a new plaid storie,
And one poore sigh breaths all delight to nought.
So to my selfe I liue not, but for you,
For you I liue, and you I loue, but none else:
Oh then faire eyes whose light I liue to viewe,
Or poore forlorne despis'd to liue alone els,
Looke sweete since from the pith of contemplation,
Loue gathereth life, and liuing, breedeth passion.

Sonetto XVII.

Occhi miei belli, mentre ch'io vi miro,
Per dolcezza ineffabil ch'io ne sento,
Vola, come falcon ch'ha seco il vento,
La memoria da me d'ogni martiro:
E tosto che da voi le luci giro,
Amaricato resto in tal tormento,
Che s'ebbi mai piacer, non lo rammento;
Ne va il ricordo col primier sospiro.
Non sarei di vedervi già sì vago,
S'io sentissi giovar, come la vista,
L'aver di voi nel cor sempre l'immago.
Invidia è ben, se'l guardar mio v'attrista;
E tanto più che quell' ond'io m'appago,
Nulla a voi perde, ed a me tanto acquista.

Phillis, XXVIII.

Not causelesse were you christned (gentle flowers)
The one of faith, the other fancies pride,
For she who guides both faith and fancies power,
In your faire coloures wrapes hir Iuory side:
As one of you hath whitenes without staine,
So spotlesse is my loue and neuer tainted:
And as the other shadoweth faith againe,
Such is my lasse, with no fond chaunge acquainted:
And as nor tirant sonne nor winter weather,
May eeuer chaunge sweet Amaranthus hew:
So she tho loue and fortune ioyne together,
Will neuer leaue to bee both faire and true:
And should I leaue thee then thou prettie elfe?
Nay first let Damon quite forget himselfe.

Sonetto VI.

Non senza causa il giglio e l'amaranto,
L'uno di fede, e l'altro fior d'amore,
Del bel leggiadro lor vago colore,
Vergine illustre, v'orna il vostro manto.
Candido e puro l'un mostra altrettanto
In voi candore e purità di core;
All' animo sublime l'altro fiore
Di costanza real dà il pregio e il vanto.
Com' egli al sole e al verno, fuor d'usanza
D'ogni altro germe, ancor che forza il sciolga
Dal natio umor, sempre vermiglio resta:
Così vostr' alta intezione onesta,
Perchè Fortuna la sua ruota volga
Come a lei par, non può mutar sembianza.

If we add the above cases of plagiarism from the Italian poets to the numerous loans that Lodge has levied on Ronsard and Desportes, we come to the conclusion that of the thirty-eight poems of sonnet character contained in *Phillis*, twenty-four are filched from foreign sources, so that—leaving the few miscellaneous pieces and the annexed dreary and obscure *Complaint of Elstred* out of account—*Phillis* is little more than an exercise in translation from the French and the Italian, and one of the most impudent cases of literary 'larceny,' to use Puttenham's term, in the history of literature. In all probability time will disclose the source of the remaining fourteen sonnets.

L. E. Kastner.

MISCELLANEOUS NOTES.

An Allusion in Webster.

An interesting and suggestive reference made by Vittoria in her 'Arraignment' appears to have puzzled editors. With one consent they propose to tamper with the following passage in *The White Divel*, 1612, sig. E 4 (III, ii, 129—139 in Professor Sampson's edition):

> *Vit.* Humbly thus.
> Thus low, to the most worthy and respected
> Leigier Embassadors, my modesty
> And womanhood I tender; but withall
> So intangled in a cursed accusation
> That my defence of force like *Perseus*.
> Must personate masculine vertue to the point.
> Find mee but guilty, seuer head from body:
> Weele part good frindes: I scorne to hould my life.
> at yours or any mans intreaty, Sir,
> *Eng. Emb.* She hath a braue spirit.

Except for some obvious errors of punctuation, the speech needs no correcting. But in the sixth line Mitford proposed, most unwarrantably, to substitute 'Portia' for 'Perseus'; it is not clear whether he read 'Portia' or 'Portia's,' but in the one form or the other scholars have welcomed this undesirable alien. Professor Sampson, who does not disturb the text at random, adopts 'Portia's,' and dismisses the original reading as 'obviously wrong.' On the contrary it is demonstrably right. It is an allusion to contemporary literature. In Jonson's *Masque of Queenes*, acted and first published in 1609, 'Heroique Vertue,' played by an actor in the dress of Perseus, is a prominent character. Jonson describes the appearance of the twelve masquers seated on a pyramid of light in the House of Fame,—'From whom a Person, by this time descended, in the furniture of *Perseus*, and expressing *heroique*, and *masculine Vertue*, began to speake' (Quarto,

1609, sig. D 2). The speech follows with a marginal note added to the opening lines:

'The Antients expressed a braue and masculine *Vertue* in three figures. (Of *Hercules*, *Perseus*, and *Bellerophon*.) Of which we choose that of *Perseus*, arm'd as wee haue describ'd him, out of *Hesiod. Scuto. Herc.* See *Apollodor*, the Grammarian. *lib.* 2. de *Perseo*.'

The character, it should be noted, is not called 'Perseus'; it is 'Heroique Vertue' as typified by Perseus, wearing his attributes of the winged sandals, the cap of darkness, and the crooked sword. Webster's reference is therefore very explicit. He paid his famous tribute to contemporary playwrights in the preface to *The White Divel*, and eulogised 'the labor'd and vnderstanding workes of Maister *Iohnson*.' There is some irony in the fact that scholars have overlooked the laboured and understanding reference. But, when once pointed out, it is obvious and may be added to the group of allusions from which Professor Sampson deduces the probable date of the play.

Mr Charles Crawford has pointed to conclusive evidence that Webster was familiar with Jonson's masque. The 'doctrine of some great Inquisitors in Nature' that every royal or heroic form partakes of the heavenly virtue was borrowed by Jonson from Spenser and applied to Prince Henry in the dedication. Webster appropriated it almost verbally when celebrating the dead prince in *A Monumental Columne*, 1613, sig. A verso; the passage begins,

Some great inquisitors in nature say.

That Jonson, who disapproved of Spenser's style but 'would have him read for his matter,' should draw freely on his philosophy and with the help of Seneca's 'rerum naturae inquisitor' at once express and limit the acknowledgement, was very natural; but Webster's reborrowing is so curious as to suggest that he did not know the ultimate source of Jonson's inspiration.

PERCY SIMPSON.

THE WORD 'MOILLERE' IN 'PIERS THE PLOWMAN.'

It may be worth while to point out that the explanation of this word as meaning 'woman, wife,' given in my edition of Stratmann and in the glossary and notes to Prof. Skeat's editions of *Piers the Plowman*, is altogether wrong. The sense in all the instances is that of the well-known law term *mulier*, 'legitimate child,' 'person born in wedlock,'

representing the Anglo-French *mulieré* (Britton) and the Law Latin *mulieratus*. It is not necessary to argue the point, as a glance at the passages will suffice to show that the word can have no other than this meaning. In the A text, Passus ii, lines 87 and 101, the Vernon MS. stands alone in reading 'Meede is a Iuweler,' with defective alliteration. Other MSS. have the correct 'Mulyer' or 'Muliere,' or some corruption of this. Prof. Skeat recorded these readings in the footnotes to his edition of the A text (Early English Text Society, 1867), but unfortunately regarded them as 'clearly due to attempts at improving the alliteration,' and therefore did not think it necessary to mention them in his parallel-text edition published by the Clarendon Press. Perhaps it may not be superfluous to mention, for the benefit of students of *Piers the Plowman*, that the parallel-text edition, while itself indispensable, does not by any means supersede Prof. Skeat's separate editions of the three texts.

In relation to the question of the unity of authorship of the three versions of *Piers the Plowman*, it is of some little interest to note that the authors of the A and the B texts (if they are different persons) both used correctly this rare law term, which some of the scribes who copied their work evidently did not understand. In calling it rare, I am of course referring to its use in Middle English, for which *Piers the Plowman* is the only authority; in the 16th century it was common enough.

In B xvi, line 219, 'ne matrimoigne with-oute moillerye · is nou3t moche to preyse,' the word *moillerye* has the collective sense of 'legitimate offspring,' as is clear from the Latin text quoted: 'Maledictus homo qui non reliquit semen in Israel.' The formally corresponding Anglo-French *mulerie* seems to occur only in the phrase *en mulerie*, 'in wedlock.'

HENRY BRADLEY.

DRAYTON'S SONNETS.

Lovers of Drayton will find matter for congratulation in the manner in which Professor Elton in his admirable study of that poet's life and work has traversed, and it may be hoped, disposed of the arguments with which Dr Courthope supported his rather surprising and to Drayton not very creditable theory concerning the relations of the poet to his patrons. But one point of interest Professor Elton has avoided. In Dr Courthope's account of Drayton most readers have probably

stumbled over three variants—misprints they can hardly be—from the accepted text of the sonnet which places Drayton once for all among the great poets of the world. It will have been noticed, for instance, that it is only by the substitution of Dr Courthope's reading 'rise' for 'kiss' in the first line—'Since there's no help, come let us kiss and part'—that his interpretation of the poem as addressed to the Countess of Bedford is made possible. Dr Courthope has not stated the source from which his text is drawn, but I have failed to discover any alternative authority to the *Poems* of 1619 in which the sonnet was first printed. If Dr Courthope has drawn on some manuscript source, with which the general reader is unfamiliar, he will, I am sure, see the desirability of stating his authority.

W. W. Greg.

The Text of Gray's Poems.

I do not know whether any editor of Gray has collated the text of the Foulis edition of 1768 with that of the London edition of the same year, which preceded this Glasgow edition by a little. The texts are not quite identical. The Glasgow edition, a quarto—the first work printed by Foulis with so large a type, which was specially prepared by Dr Wilson—is much the more beautiful book. The text followed a transcription made with Gray's consent by Beattie. The following variations may be noted. In the *Elegy* 'the beetle wheels his droning flight' (Dodsley); 'drony flight' (Foulis). The earliest example of 'drony' in *N. E. D.* is of 1824, 'The bats were wheeling their drony flights,' probably a reminiscence from this text of the *Elegy*. 'Grav'd on the stone' (Dodsley); 'his stone' (Foulis). The '*Hymn to Adversity*' (Dodsley) is '*Ode to Adversity*' (Foulis). The Greek motto to this poem is not the same in F. as that in D. '*The Fatal Sisters*' is not named '*An Ode*' in F. In *The Bard* III, i 'In yon bright track, that fires the western sky' (D.); 'tract' (F.). I do not mean to record the variations, of which several will be found in the notes, but merely to call attention to the fact that such variations exist.

Edward Dowden.

'Connoissance' in the 'New English Dictionary.'

The earliest instance of 'Connoissance' in the *New English Dictionary* is from Bailey (1730–6). In his *Anecdotes of Painting* (1762–71) Horace Walpole says, in a passage quoted in the *Dictionary*: 'Being in search of a proper term for this science, Mr Prior proposed to name it *connoissance*; but that word has not obtained possession as *connoisseur* has.' We are not told where or when Prior made this suggestion, which apparently is not to be found in his printed works, otherwise we should have expected the quotation to be supplied in the *Dictionary*. I happen to have hit upon the authority for Walpole's statement recently, quite by chance. Prior's proposal was made in a private letter to Jonathan Richardson, the portrait-painter. Richardson relates the circumstance in his *Discourse on the Dignity, Certainty, Pleasure and Advantage, of the Science of a Connoisseur*, which was published in 1719. He was evidently very proud of the incident, for he prints his account of it in extra large type. He says at the end of one of his long-winded paragraphs:

'Here being a full Period, and the first Opportunity I have had, I will inform the Publick that I have at length found a Name for the Science of a *Connoisseur* of which I am treating, and which I observed at the entrance of this Subject wanted One. After some of these Sheets were printed I was complaining of this Defect to a Friend, who I knew, and Every Body will readily acknowledge was very proper to be advised with on This, or a Much Greater Occasion; and the next Day had the honour of a Letter from him on another Affair, wherein however the Term Connoissance was us'd; This I immediately found was That he recommended, and which I shall use hereafter. And indeed since the Term *Connoisseur*, tho' it has a General Signification, has been received as denoting One skilful in this particular Science; there can be no reason why the Science it self should not be called *Connoissance*. Perhaps 'tis not without some Mixture of Vanity in my self, but in Justice to my Friend I must not conceal his Name; 'tis Mr PRIOR.' (Ed. 1719, pp. 62–4.)

Accordingly in the remaining portion of his *Discourse* Richardson brings in the word 'connoissance' as often as he can, nearly a score of times in fact. The earliest instance of the use of this word therefore in the *Dictionary* should be under 1719. It is curious that it should have been overlooked, as the title of this very work of Richardson's is quoted for the use of the term 'connoisseur' in 1719.

Paget Toynbee.

'Sir Gawayne and the Green Knight,' lines 697—702.

In the account of Sir Gawayne's journey in *Sir Gawayne and the Green Knight* we are told how he draws nigh to North Wales, holds Anglesey on his left, fares over the fords by the forelands, over at Holyhead, till he reaches the bank again in the wilderness of Wirral, where he found few who loved either God or man. The geography seems confused. Ought we not to read 'Holywell' for 'Holyhead'? Riding from Camelot, Gawayne naturally entered North Wales from the south: if he left Anglesey on his left hand, he would have to follow the line of the northern coast: he would pass over more than one ford by a foreland, but more particularly the ford of the Conway by the Great Orme's Head, till he reached Holywell, where the Bagillt Bank stretches halfway across the estuary of the Dee. Taking advantage of a low tide, Sir Gawayne would of course have had no difficulty in swimming Gringolet across the narrowed channel, and landing on the other bank in the wilderness of Wirral. But to swim from Holyhead to Liverpool seems too great a feat to expect even from a knight of the Table Round.

R. W. Chambers.

Notes on Barnabe Barnes' 'Devil's Charter.'

v. 1319. To the references given on p. 123 of Volume I of this *Review*, I can now add a passage where 'trillill' is used in a sense similar to, if not identical with, that in *The Devil's Charter*. In *The Shoemaker's Holiday*, v, 3, Firk says to his fellow-journeymen: 'And I'll promise you meat enough, for simp'ring Susan keeps the larder. I'll lead you to the victuals, my brave soldiers; follow your captain. O brave! Hark, hark! (*Bell rings*).' At which they all shout: 'The pancake-bell rings, the pancake-bell! Trillil, my hearts!' Evidently the word is used as an expression of cheerfulness or high spirits, or as an incitement to cheerfulness, something like the modern 'cheer up.'

v. 1580. There can be no doubt that 'vitriall dildidoes' means 'glass *ὄλισβοι*.' There is ample support for it in the poetry of the Restoration, for instance in *The Works of the Earls of Rochester, Roscommon and Dorset: The Dukes of Devonshire, Buckinghamshire,* etc., London, 1739, Vol. II. See *The Discovery*, p. 179; *Dildoides*, a poem by Butler, the author of *Hudibras*, p. 182.

A. E. H. Swaen.

REVIEWS.

Orígenes de la Novela. Tomo I. *Introduccion: Tratado historico sobre la primitiva Novela española.* Por D. MARCELINO MENÉNDEZ Y PELAYO. (*Nueva Biblioteca de Autores Españoles.*) Madrid: Bailly-Baillière, 1905. 8vo. 534 pp.

Predicadores de los Siglos XVI y XVII. Tomo I. *Sermones del P. Fr. Alonso de Cabrera de la Orden de Predicadores.* Con un discurso preliminar de Don MIGUEL MIR. (Same Series.) Madrid: Bailly-Baillière, 1906. 8vo. xxxvii + 712 pp.

Autobiografías y Memorias. Coleccionadas é ilustradas por M. SERRANO Y SANZ. (Same Series.) Madrid: Bailly-Baillière, 1906. 8vo. clxvi + 545 pp.

Comedias de Tirso de Molina. Tomo I. Coleccion ordinada é ilustrada por D. EMILIO COTARELO Y MORI. (Same Series.) Madrid: Bailly-Baillière, 1906. 8vo. lxxxiv + 680 pp.

The idea of continuing the very meritorious and useful *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles* of Rivadeneyra is a happy one, and a beginning has been made with the above volumes under the most favourable auspices. The *Nueva Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, as it is called, is published under the direction of D. Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo, with the collaboration of a number of distinguished scholars. The 'Prospectus,' written apparently by the editor-in-chief, while giving just praise to the older *Biblioteca*, calls attention to some of its shortcomings, especially as regards the manner in which several texts were edited, and also to many and important omissions. Speaking of the texts of the older *Biblioteca*, the 'Prospectus' says: 'Las condiciones de la crítica y de la filología eran entonces muy diversas de las de ahora; los estudios de literatura comparada se han desarrollado portentosamente en este largo período, y aunque con lentitud han logrado penetrar en España, se ha acrecentado el rigor de las exigencias del método, y aun el editor más negligente no puede menos de sentir hoy escrúpulos que antes no preocupaban al varón más docto,' etc. Of the omissions, the editor remarks: 'Quedaron en ella (i.e. the older *Biblioteca*) grandes vacíos, que á toda costa procuraremos llenar.' He refers to the number of important works that were not included in the former publication, and calls especial attention to the great dramatists: 'De

los príncipes de nuestro teatro sólo se reproduce íntegro el repertorio de Alarcon y el de Calderon (las Comedias, no los autos); se echan de menos dos terceras partes del teatro de Tirso, y resuelta muy caprichosa y de todas suertes mezquina la selección de los dramaticos llamados de segundo órden, algunos de los cuales, como Guillen de Castro, Mira de Mescua y Luis Velez de Guevara, merecían occupar sendos tomos con tanta razón como Rojas y Moreto,' etc.

The opening volume, *Orígenes de la Novela*, is from the pen of the editor-in-chief, indisputably the first literary critic and scholar of Spain. This work reveals on every page the vast and accurate erudition of its author, and is written in a style so clear, graceful and flowing that it captivates the reader. The task of writing such a work was a very great one, but for the author of the *Historia de las Ideas estéticas en España*, and editor of Lope de Vega, that *mar inmenso*, the very magnitude of the undertaking must have had a peculiar attraction. The book begins with a review of the Greek and Latin novel; this is followed by a discussion of the apologue and oriental tale, and their transmission to the western nations, especially to Spain, and the fiction of the Arabs and Jews of Spain. Then follows a chapter on the influence of the Oriental novel on the literature of the Peninsula during the middle ages, and an account of the books of chivalry, all in great detail and evincing an astonishing knowledge of the whole subject. Nothing seems to have escaped the author's reading, and it arouses our curiosity to see what Sr. Adolfo Bonilla (to whom the books of chivalry in the succeeding volumes have been assigned) may add to the masterly exposition of this part of the work. The *Caballero Cifar* is discussed at length, 'on account of its remote antiquity and its curious contents, as well as because it is almost entirely unknown in Spain.' This work is not an imitation of *Amadis of Gaul*, but, on the contrary, as Baist had affirmed, the oldest Spanish novel (*die älteste selbstständige kastilische Fiktion*). *Amadis of Gaul* is treated with great minuteness, and here the reader will find the best account, taken all in all, that has yet been written concerning this, the greatest of all the old romances of chivalry, of which the only known copy of the first edition (Çaragoça, 1508) now reposes on the shelves of the British Museum. An examination of the *Briolanja* episode leads Sr. Menéndez y Pelayo to the conclusion that the unknown author, translator or remodeller of *Amadis* was probably *not* Vasco de Lobeira, but Juan Lobeira, a *trobador* of the Court of King Denis, of whom two fragments of a Portuguese *cancion* are found in the *Cancionero Colocci-Brancuti*. The *estribillo* of the *cancion*, which is reproduced in the *villancico* in *Amadis*, is not an irrefutable and decisive argument in favour of the Portuguese origin of *Amadis*, but it is an indication of great moment. The verses are probably of the close of the thirteenth, or at latest of the beginning of the fourteenth century, as no other poetry of the *Cancionero* is of less antiquity. 'While this Juan Lobeira, who figured at the Portuguese Court from 1258 to 1285 was the *refundidor* of *Amadis*, he was not its author, for *Amadis de Gaula* must have existed before this time, but in what language, God

only knows.' The author cites the opinion of Baist, who denies the Portuguese origin of *Amadis*, but he holds that Baist's arguments are not conclusive,—that they affirm too much or are dependent on mere conjecture. So this point still remains unsettled, though it is clear that Menéndez y Pelayo inclines to the Portuguese origin of the romance: 'A pesar de los malos y contraproducentes argumentos con que á veces ha sido defendida la originalidad portuguesa del *Amadis*, á mis ojos es una hipótesis muy plausible, y hasta ahora la que mejor concuerda con los pocos datos históricos que poseemos,' etc. (p. ccxx). Exceedingly interesting as this discussion is, as to whether *Amadis*, as we now have the work, was originally written in Spanish or in Portuguese, there is not even a conjecture by the author concerning the ultimate origin of the romance. Might not *Amadis* possibly represent a French original which is now lost? In reading *Amadis of Gaul* such a thought must occur more than once to anyone familiar with some of the French romances, particularly *Lancelot*. The matter, at all events, deserves closer study. Sr. Menéndez y Pelayo rightly attributes *Palmerin de Inglaterra* to the Portuguese Francisco de Moraes, who lived in Paris from 1541 to 1543, as secretary of the Ambassador D. Francisco de Noronha, second Count of Linares. The subject has been entirely cleared up by the excellent work of W. E. Purser, *Palmerin of England*, Dublin, 1904, which as Sr. Menéndez notes in the Appendix, had not appeared when his account was written. Following the 'Romances of Chivalry' (which take up over one hundred pages) we have a chapter on the 'Sentimental Novel,' its origin, and the influence of Boccaccio and Eneas Silvio; then the 'Historical Novel,' and finally the 'Pastoral Romance,' which is treated with a mastery that leaves nothing to be desired.

The publication of the *Predicadores de los Siglos XVI y XVII*, Vol. I, is an attempt by a well-known scholar, D. Miguel Mir, who is also a priest, to rehabilitate the almost forgotten Dominican Fr. Alonso de Cabrera. In his day Cabrera was a preacher who had a great reputation for the fervour and sincerity of his discourses, which are absolutely free from all affectation and artifice, and so clear, simple and straightforward as to be within the grasp of the most ordinary intelligence. His rich and picturesque imagination suggests a thousand means of explaining his thoughts with singular vivacity and clearness, and his only weakness is the too frequent insertion of Latin sentences, which was, however, perhaps not so great a drawback in his day as it is now. It is in vain that we examine the histories of Spanish literature for the name of Alonso de Cabrera. Amongst the works ordinarily accessible to the student he is mentioned only by Nicolas Antonio, in his *Bibliotheca hispana nova*. The learned editor of the present volume has succeeded in gathering a few of the main points of his life. Fr. Alonso de Cabrera was born in Cordoba about 1549, of the noble family of Godoy Cabrera; he received a religious education and became one of the *Padres Predicadores* in the Convent of the order in his native city. He continued his studies at the University of Salamanca,

and before he was ordained a priest, went to America, preaching on the island of Santo Domingo, whence he returned to Spain, and became Professor of Theology in the University of Osuna; he was finally appointed Court preacher of Philip II. at Madrid. He died in the Convent of Saint Thomas, Madrid, commonly called the Convent of Atocha, on November 20, 1598, about two months after the death of Philip II., at whose obsequies he had preached one of his most famous sermons. Sr. Mir has certainly done a good service to his fellow-countrymen in presenting to them, in this handsome volume, the sermons of one of the foremost pulpit orators of the Golden Age of Spain.

The distinguished scholar and bibliographer, Sr. Serrano y Sanz (now, we believe, Professor in the University of Zaragoza), who has been for many years connected with the Biblioteca Nacional, at Madrid, and to whose untiring pen we owe a number of important works, presents us, in the *Autobiografías y Memorias* with a volume of curious interest. Sr. Serrano alludes to the fact that in past centuries autobiographical literature was little cultivated in Spain, and lays stress upon its importance as a historical document. He points out that the great advantage of autobiographies lies in the fact that they are living documents; their value would be inestimable were it not for the vanity inherent in human nature, which falsifies deeds or exaggerates them; consequently they have been viewed with some distrust, as tending to confuse historical narrative with what is pure fiction. But even those autobiographies which bear but a faint stamp of truth, as that of Duque de Estrada, contain most important data with reference to the social condition of the epoch, concerning customs and manners and a thousand things disdained by official chroniclers and by the recognised historians. Some of them, written by men in humble walks of life,—by soldiers and adventurers,—show us how very real was that *vida picaresca* which is described in so many books. There are passages in the lives of D. Alonso Enriquez, of Miguel de Castro and of Contreras, which seem copied from *Lazarillo de Tormes*, the *Gran Tacaño* or *Guzman de Alfarache*. Sr. Serrano divides his introduction into nine chapters, according to the condition or station in life of the writers, beginning with kings and ending with women. These introductory chapters, which cover a hundred and sixty-six pages, are full of curious information gathered frequently from the most recondite sources. The text given first is the *Viaje de Turquia* (from the original MSS. in the Biblioteca Nacional) of Cristobal de Villalon, a distinguished hellenist of the first half of the sixteenth century and the author of *El Crotalon*. This is followed by the *Life of the Bishop of Zamora, Don Diego de Simancas*; the *Life of D. Martin de Ayala, Archbishop of Valencia*; the *Viaje del Mundo hecho por Pedro Ordonez de Ceballos* and other equally curious narratives.

Perhaps no man living has a more intimate acquaintance with the whole theatre of Tirso de Molina than the distinguished Academician, D. Emilio Cotarelo y Mori, to whom we owe, amongst many other

excellent publications, the work *Tirso de Molina: Investigaciones biobibliograficas* (Madrid, 1893). Sr. Cotarelo has again rendered a most important service to students of the Spanish drama by publishing those comedias of Tirso which have hitherto been practically inaccessible. The edition of Tirso de Molina originally published by Hartzenbusch in twelve volumes in 1839–42, contained thirty-three plays, together with excerpts and notices of a number of others. The same editor's edition in the *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles* (1848) embraced thirty-six plays. Sr. Cotarelo is now publishing all the comedias that appeared in the original five *Partes* of Tirso's *Comedias* (1627–36), besides those which have been attributed to him with more or less probability. The first volume of this work is now before us, and contains three plays which had appeared in other more recent collections: *El Burlador de Sevilla, La Venganza de Tamar* (published in Calderon's works), and *Siempre ayuda la Verdad* (printed in the volume on Alarcon). Sr. Cotarelo assures us that his edition is a faithful copy of the original impressions, only the most obvious errors being corrected, to which in every case reference is made in a note. In only one important particular has the editor departed from this rule; he has changed the spelling in conformity with the usages of the present day. He says: 'A la anárquica y absurda ortografía de los impresos del siglo XVII hemos sostituido la hoy corriente, en todo lo que no puede afectar al sonido de las palabras.' We can see no justification for doing this in the case of those plays which originally appeared in the five *Partes* of Tirso, as the author saw them through the press. For the D. Francisco Lucas de Avila, 'nephew of the author,' who collected the plays in the last four *Partes* of Tirso's *Comedias,* is in the opinion of Sr. Cotarelo a mythical personage: 'casi nadie cree hoy en la existencia de tal sobrino,' he says. If this be so, then the plays in these five volumes were collected and prepared for the printer by Tirso himself, and no matter how lawless the orthography was, it was undoubtedly that of Tirso de Molina, and should have been respected as such. With the reprints of Ortega and other eighteenth century booksellers, the case is, of course, entirely different. Sr. Cotarelo has divided the Acts into Scenes, but he has printed no stage directions which do not appear in the original copies. The lines are not numbered.

Sr. Cotarelo's introduction, *Vida y Obras de Tirso de Molina*, is the most important and comprehensive essay that has yet been written upon the life and works of the great dramatist. The difficulty of finding personal notices of Tirso, as the editor says, lies in his very profession. He was a priest, and as such, the world knew little of him. Tirso de Molina was born in Madrid, in October, 1571, and studied at Alcalá de Henares. He became a novitiate in the *Convento de la Merced* at Guadalajara, on Nov. 14, 1600, and a priest on Jan. 21, 1601. Unlike Lope de Vega, he began comparatively late in life to write for the theatre, and we have no comedia of Tirso's dated earlier than 1605. Among contemporary writers Tirso is first mentioned by Claramonte, in his *Letania moral* (written in 1610), who merely alludes to him as a

poeta comico. In 1615 Tirso de Molina visited the island of Santo Domingo; how long he remained we do not know, but on his return he was, for a while, in Seville and then in Sept. 1618 in Toledo. To this year belong, perhaps, his comedia *Dª Beatriz de Silva* and his auto *Los Hermanos parecidos,* 'representóle Tomas Fernandez en la iglesia catedral de Toledo, entre los dos coros.' In 1620 Tirso resided in Madrid, and Lope de Vega dedicated to him his comedia *Lo fingido verdadero*; to the same year also belongs the comedia *La Villana de Vallecas.* At this time he was a member of the *Academia Poetica de Madrid,* which from 1617 to 1622 met at the house of the poet Dr Sebastian Francisco de Medrano, a churchman who had long resided in Italy. Tirso also published about this time his *Cigarrales de Toledo,* a miscellany containing novels, lyric poems, three comedias, stories, descriptions of festivals, ballads, etc. The first edition is supposed to be of Madrid, 1621, which no bibliographer, however, appears to have seen, the earliest edition known being that of Madrid, 1624 (copy in the Salvá library). From the prologue of this work we learn that up to this date he had written three hundred comedias: he himself says 'within the past fourteen years.' In May, 1622, he was in Zaragoza and about the middle of June again in Madrid, where he took part in the *Justa poetica* in honour of the canonization of San Isidro: in this contest Tirso failed to receive a prize. In 1625 he ceased to write for the theatre, doubtless the result of a complaint which had been made to the Council of Castile and a recommendation that the Council should 'imprison or exile the scandalous friar and prohibit him from composing any more comedias.' As a consequence, and much against his will, Tirso left Madrid. As a matter of fact, however, he wrote several plays in 1625, and at least one, *La Huerta de Juan Fernandez,* in 1626; but for nearly ten years after this we hear nothing more of him until he published the *Tercera Parte* of his *Comedias* (1634). He tells us in the dedication of this volume that in the past twenty years he had written four hundred comedias. Before May, 1626, Tirso was in Salamanca, probably an exile, and in this year he was appointed Comendador of the Convent of Trujillo, perhaps, as Sr. Cotarelo remarks, 'to sweeten the bitterness of his former persecution.'

In 1627 the *Primera Parte* of his *Comedias* was published at Madrid and Seville; of the former edition, no copy seems to have survived, and it is known only through the Valencian reprint of 1631. Of the twelve comedias in this volume, Hartzenbusch had published eight; the other four are reprinted in the present volume. In 1629 Tirso was again in Salamanca and probably in 1630 returned to Toledo, where he resided at the beginning of 1631. Here he devoted a year to the composition of his *Deleitar aprovechando,* which he finished on Feb. 26, 1632, but which did not appear till 1635 (Madrid). It was his favourite work and at its conclusion he promised a second part, which never appeared. Like the *Cigarrales de Toledo* it is also a miscellany, but is entirely different in character from that work. Instead of entertaining stories, it contains pious legends, instead of comedias,

several *autos sacramentales*, instead of satirical verses, mostly devout poetical compositions, and three *novelas á lo divino*. In 1632 Tirso de Molina was named *Cronista general* of his Order (La Merced), a position formerly occupied by Fr. Alonso Remon, who is also known as a writer of comedias. In 1634 the *Tercera Parte* of his *Comedias* appeared at Tortosa (Francisco Martorell), *before* the *Segunda Parte* had appeared. Sr. Cotarelo thinks that this was a mere mistake of the title-page, that it was undoubtedly intended for the *Segunda Parte*, and that the error was amended by calling the part which appeared in the following year, the *Segunda Parte*. Of the comedias of the *Tercera Parte*, seven were reprinted by Hartzenbusch, the other five are printed in this volume, among them *La fingida Arcadia*, written in 1622, 'a tribute of admiration and respectful homage to the great Master, Lope de Vega.' In 1635, as already mentioned, appeared the first and only edition of the *Segunda Parte* of his *Comedias*. Of the twelve comedias in that volume the following are wholly by Tirso: *Por el Sotano y el Torno*, *Amor y Celos hacen Discretos* (at the end of both of which Tirso distinctly states that he is the author), *Esto sí que es Negociar*, and the fourth, according to Sr. Cotarelo, is *La Mujer por Fuerza*. The other eight plays he thinks were also written by Tirso in collaboration with other dramatists. The editor agrees with Sr. Menéndez y Pelayo, who says that if we had not been put upon our guard by Tirso's own words in the Dedication, we should read the whole volume as the production of a single wit, since the irregularities observed in the plays are no greater than those which are to be noticed in the authentic comedias of Tirso de Molina. The *Quarta Parte* of his Comedias appeared at Madrid, also in 1635 (Maria de Quiñones). These plays are little known, and only four were reprinted by Hartzenbusch. In 1636 Tirso published his *Quinta Parte*, 'in Madrid, en la Imprenta Real,' of which only two plays have been reprinted in the former edition: *Amar por Arte Mayor* and *Marta la Piadosa*. In 1637 he began the composition of his *Historia General de la Merced*, the second and last volume of which he finished on Dec. 24, 1639, and the autograph MS. of which is now preserved in the *Royal Academy of History*.

On September 29, 1645, Tirso de Molina was made *Comendador* or Superior of the Convent of Soria; here he resided until his death, on March 12, 1648, at the age of seventy-six. 'No writer of the time has preserved for us any notice of his death; nobody wept over his grave; the poets of Madrid had forgotten him, for in truth, he had already been dead to the world for many years. He was buried in the Convent of Soria, but owing to our barbarous political struggles his precious remains have been allowed to disappear.' Sr. Cotarelo has done a work that compels our lasting gratitude. Let us hope that the second volume may not be long delayed.

HUGO ALBERT RENNERT.

Andreas and the Fates of the Apostles. Two Anglo-Saxon Narrative Poems. Edited with Introduction, Notes and Glossary, by GEORGE PHILIP KRAPP. Boston: Ginn and Co. 1906. 8vo. lxxxi + 238 pp.

A critical edition of *Andreas* which should embody the results of modern scholarship, has long been needed. We are now indebted to an American scholar for one which may serve in many respects as a pattern to future editors of Old English Texts. *The Fates of the Apostles* appears here for the first time in its entirety, the twenty-seven lines in which the author has revealed his name being restored to their proper place.

The 72 pages of Introduction contain full information regarding MS. and editions, source, authorship etc. A chapter on the history of the Legend of St Andrew is both clear and complete, while the detailed lists of parallels between *Andreas* and *Beowulf* and between *Andreas* and the known Cynewulfian poems, is valuable and interesting. Following the Introduction is a full Bibliography, occupying six pages.

Necessarily the greater part of the Introduction embodies known results, and evidently the editor has been throughout more concerned to arrive at the truth than to attract attention. But, modestly as he puts them forward, he has arrived at some independent and valuable results. Dr Krapp shows the same modesty in his treatment of the text. He alters the MS. only when alteration is necessary, and not merely to show his skill at guessing what his author *might* have written. Unfortunately he has not had direct access to the MS.; but Wülker's and Napier's work have perhaps rendered that scarcely necessary. The complete glossary (66 pp.) at the end of the book, we assume, was added at the request of the publishers. A glossary of rare words—in the notes a new explanation is given to several—would have been of more value.

And now to some of the editor's conclusions. In discussing the presence of the MS. in Vercelli, Dr Krapp adduces facts (pp. xiii and xiv) which seem to render certain the view upheld by Cook that the *Vercelli Book* formed part of the library of Cardinal Guala and came therefore in the year 1227 into the Cathedral library. *The Fates of the Apostles* and the runic passage our editor regards as one poem, the work therefore of Cynewulf. He holds Wülker's view regarding the authorship of *Andreas*, and to what has already been said on both sides he adds evidence deduced from the vocabulary, which to our mind makes the testimony against Cynewulfian origin fairly conclusive. To the text and notes we have one or two slight emendations to offer. In *l.* 167 the definite article surely presents no difficulty: 'then *the* Voice.' Naturally the voice mentioned just before. *Ll.* 171–3 are of course to be taken closely with this passage. A comma should follow *wæs* (*l.* 169), and a semicolon *weg* (*l.* 170). *L.* 174: Is Cosijn's emendation necessary? cf. *Gen.* 107. *Ll.* 496 and 499, notes: We see no

need to picture the open sea: for a small vessel to keep near the coast is not unnatural. Following Kemble, we should like to translate *ful scrid* by 'under full sail.' But enough of such details.

J. H. G. Grattan.

Studien zur Sagengeschichte Englands. Von Max Deutschbein. 1. Teil. *Die Wikingersagen, Hornsage, Haveloksage, Tristansage, Boevesage, Guy of Warwicksage.* Cöthen: O. Schulze, 1906. 8vo. xii + 264 pp.

It may be said without hesitation that this book is one to be read by all who are studying early English romance; it also gives help in various ways to readers with more general interest in medieval literature. If it were only as bringing together the results of recent exploration, Dr Deutschbein's work would be serviceable; but he has not been content merely to summarise other men's labour; though, very rightly, he gives many pages to restatement of the theories of Ward, Suchier, Stimming and others. The title, *Wikingersagen*, may at first seem paradoxical as applied to Sir Tristrem, Sir Bevis and Sir Guy; it makes one expect one of those ingenious forced theories which sometimes flourish in the medieval garden. But the author is discreet and does not try unduly to bring Tristrem, Bevis and Guy into the same group as Horn and Havelok. His knowledge of literature is wide, and for the peculiar variety called 'literature of the subject' he has great aptitude. Some of the comparisons are perhaps a little strained, e.g. the romance of Solomon is brought in sometimes without necessity. It is going rather far to seek (p. 177) in Russian ballads of King Solomon for evidence as to the source of things in *Sir Tristrem* which do not require much explanation; and at any rate the explanation could be found nearer home. The device for carrying off a foreign princess by means of a merchant ship—the heroic ravishers disguised as traders, travelling with rich wares—this is not the property of the Solomon legend, and might occur to different people without any literary borrowing. While, if literature is wanted, Gwydion's practical joke on Arianrod, when he and his son got themselves up as cordwainers, is a likelier model for Tristan than the Oriental story. The great fault of the book is that it does not make allowance for losses, and assumes too readily that one may prove from what is extant in medieval romance, not merely what things were known, but what were unknown to the composers. This is too much, and leads Dr Deutschbein into illicit process of the major, and other unfortunate methods. He tells us what the English at the beginning of the 12th century were *not* capable of inventing. 'Aber der Entstehung der Hornnovelle A^1 und A^2 bei den Angelsachsen stehen schwere Bedenken gegenüber. Zunächst wären wohl die Engländer zu Beginn des 12. Jhs. nicht im Stande gewesen, eine solche Novelle aus eigener Kraft zu liefern,' &c. Now with regard to this it may be submitted that no one knows anything certain about

the limits of English fiction, professional or amateur, in the reign of Henry I; that the half-dozen octavo volumes which contain the extant Anglo-Saxon literary monuments of four or five centuries must surely be very far from complete, even as a mere museum of specimens. The English by the 12th century had been educated for hundreds of years in all sorts of narrative, from the story of the Volsungs down to Apollonius of Tyre, so that the 'eigene Kraft' of the Anglo-Saxons cannot well be disengaged from their inherited accumulation of fables. Might not an Englishman, even in the time of greatest depression, have skill or fancy enough for such a very simple plot as that of the return of King Horn? A more peremptory instance may be found on p. 81, where the subject under discussion is the story of the chieftain (Anlaf or Alfred) going in disguise as a minstrel to the enemy's camp. This, we are told, cannot be found in literary form before 1100, and *therefore* can hardly have been known in England during the Anglo-Saxon period. It must have been brought in from the Continent, along with the Solomon legend and other foreign machinery. ('Vor 1100 nämlich lässt es sich in literarischer Form nicht nachweisen, und ist deshalb während der angelsächsischen Epoche in England kaum bekannt gewesen.') There could hardly be a simpler case of this particular form of reasoning. It is a fallacy to which some men of large medieval reading seem to be prone: they are apt to forget how much has been lost along with the Tale of Wade.

It is necessary to call attention to this, because it is too common in such medieval studies to argue from non-appearance to non-existence, to think that a blank space in the historical museum can be made to prove a negative. But the value of this particular museum is not much lessened thereby. It is pleasant to follow the author's investigations throughout. His statement of the problems of King Horn is one of the clearest, and his discrimination of the elements in the story will be admired even by those who cannot quite accept all the details. It is in dealing with *Horn* and *Havelok*, the stories that have most of the Viking in them, that Dr Deutschbein is at his best; but the notes on the other three are interesting, and bring the results of previous enquiries into a comprehensible view.

W. P. Ker.

Essays, Plays and Sundry Verses. By Abraham Cowley. The Text edited by A. R. Waller. (Cambridge English Classics.) Cambridge: University Press, 1906. 8vo. viii + 500 pp.

This is the second volume of the Cambridge Cowley, and we give it a cordial welcome. It contains the juvenile works, including the pastoral comedy *Love's Riddle*, the two later comedies, *The Guardian*, acted at Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1641, and *The Cutter of Coleman Street*, founded upon this and produced in 1661, *The Puritan and the Papist*, a satire from the Bodleian copy, 1643, the *Proposition for the*

Advancement of Experimental Philosophy, the *Discourse Concerning the Government of Oliver Cromwell*, and the *Essays in Prose and Verse*, to which is added the fragment, in heroic couplets, *On the Late Civil War*.

It is natural enough that Cowley's youthful poems should be reprinted, in spite of the author's protest. They were published together with the rest of his works in the folio of 1681, and reproduced in subsequent editions. In fact, as examples of precocity they can hardly be matched elsewhere, and as such they deserve attention. The first edition of *Poetical Blossoms*, which included *Constantia and Philetus*, *Pyramus and Thisbe*, two elegies, and *A Dream of Elysium*, was published in 1633, when the author was only fifteen years old, and there is no reason to doubt his statement, made in the second edition (1636), that *Pyramus and Thisbe* was written at the age of ten and *Constantia and Philetus* two years later, though they may have had the benefit of his revision up to the time of publication. We may look very long before we find a boy of ten capable of writing in this style:

> She soon agreed to that which he requir'd,
> For little wooing needs, where both consent;
> What he so long had pleaded, she desir'd:
> Which Venus seeing, with blind Chance conspir'd,
> And many a charming accent to her sent,
> That she (at last) would frustrate their intent.
>
> Thus Beauty is by Beauty's means undone,
> Striving to close these eyes that make her bright;
> Just like the Moon, which seeks t'eclipse the Sun,
> Whence all her splendour, all her beams do come:
> So she, who fetcheth lustre from their sight,
> Doth purpose to destroy their glorious light.

After publication these poems remained practically unaltered, and the text of the edition of 1637, which is followed by Mr Waller, differs only in a very few passages from that of 1633. The note, 'Enlarged by the Author,' which appears on the title-page of *Pyramus and Thisbe* in 1636, must refer, not to that poem, but to the fact that the miscellaneous collection called *Sylva* has been added to the little volume, which, in spite of several title-pages, has continuous lettering of sheets. Of the plays, the pastoral called *Love's Riddle*, written while the author was at Westminster School, may very well pass, not only as a curiosity, but also, to some extent, on its own merits; but it is doubtful whether the pair of comedies which follow were worth reprinting, and it is certain that they add little to Cowley's reputation. We cannot agree with Pepys that *The Cutter of Coleman Street* is in any sense 'a very good play.' The remainder of the volume is almost all of interest. The *Discourse on Oliver Cromwell* is a fine piece of imaginative writing which ought to be better known, and the *Essays* are always welcome. With regard to the fragment *On the Late Civil War*, first printed in 1679, we may note that it does not quite correspond to the account

given of the poem by the author, who says that he wrote three books of the Civil War, reaching as far as the first battle of Newbury, 'where the succeeding misfortunes of the party stopped the work.' We must remember that Cowley, in the passage of the Preface of 1656 which was afterwards omitted, because it expressed too much compliance with the existing government, declares that he accounts it no less unlawful to rip up old wounds than to give new ones, and therefore he has been led not only to 'abstain from printing anything of this kind, but to burn the very copies.' What we have here is apparently a portion of the first book.

The editor's work has been done very accurately, so far as we have been able to test it by comparison with the original texts; and all students of English literature must acknowledge an obligation to the Cambridge University Press for these admirable reproductions of early editions. We notice that Mr Waller promises us a third volume, containing further biographical, bibliographical and critical matter relating to Cowley. Perhaps it would be possible to reprint in this volume the Latin comedy, *Naufragium Ioculare* (written for performance at Trinity on Candlemas day 1638), without infringing too much the principle of excluding the Latin poems, a principle which in view of the *Plantarum Libri Sex* must be acknowledged to be sound. There is a copy of the rare first edition of this play in the Cambridge University Library.

G. C. Macaulay.

The Interpretation of Nature in English Poetry from 'Beowulf' to Shakespeare. By Frederic W. Moorman. (*Quellen und Forschungen zur Sprach- und Culturgeschichte der germanischen Völker*, xcv.) Strassburg: Trübner, 1905. 8vo. xiii + 244 pp.

English literature has some claim to be the home of Nature-poetry in modern times. The external non-human world has 'existed,' in Gautier's sense, for other times and countries; certain aspects of it have been expressed more poignantly, or more brilliantly, by Dante, or Goethe, or Hugo, than by any English poet. But in no other land has that mute or inarticulate world so continuously, or with such brief intervals, haunted the makers of songs, or told so powerfully upon the course of literary movements, and the complexion of literary ideals. There have been seasons of estrangement; but the Return to Nature has been the *redintegratio amoris* of lovers who have quarrelled. It is not for nothing that Brandes has classed the whole literary movement in these islands which corresponded to the Romanticism of the continent under the rubric of 'Naturalismus': 'Nature' was in any case one of its dominant inspirations. And, at the opposite pole of our literature, the vivid sense of sea and shore in *Beowulf* contrasts with the vaguely hinted Pyrenean background of the *Chanson de Roland*.

Abundance of acute observation has, needless to say, been applied, during the last century, to the more striking examples of this preoccupa-

tion with Nature; and English criticism has latterly been seconded with at least equal acumen, and with more of exact method and minute research, by a distinguished group of French scholars: one need only mention the studies of MM. Morel, Legouis, and Angellier, on Thomson, Wordsworth, and Burns. But the less salient cases, the poets for whom 'Nature' was not a religion, or a principle, but a capacity of being thrilled 'just when you're safest' by a 'sunset touch,' or by the gleam of daisy-spangled lawns through an open study door, and who never thought of writing 'Nature' with a capital N—all this intervening half- and quarter-light of the subject has been little regarded. Nor, in consequence, has any attempt been made, save on a summary scale, to trace the history of the sentiment of Nature through the whole course of English poetry, to distinguish its phases, its varieties, and its degrees. The nearest approach to such an attempt has been made in Germany, by Dr A. Biese, in his *Die Entwickelung des Naturgefühls im Mittelalter und in der Neuzeit* (1887). But England occupies only one section of this study; nor is Dr Biese's command of the obscurer regions of our literature exactly that of an Anglist in the stricter sense. Professor Moorman has thus, in essaying his present task, taken possession of a field which no predecessor was entitled to call his own; and he has done much to establish that title for himself.

His fifteen chapters are distributed very impartially over the nine centuries of literature which close with Shakespeare: three being assigned to Old English, six to Middle English, six to the sixteenth century. The less obviously attractive poets and periods are as diligently worked as the great Makers and the Spacious Times; it was indeed just among these that diligence was most likely to be rewarded. The Middle English Romances are discussed at greater length than Chaucer, the early Elizabethans than Spenser. Nothing like completeness could possibly be achieved within the limits; and it indicates the amount of patient, minute research that has gone to the making of Dr Moorman's book, that we are often made painfully aware of these limits, as we should not be in a study which kept warily within the safe waters of general statement. The treatment is a little scrappy and disjointed, but the scraps are all genuine stuff, 'handwove.' The plan of putting each writer and work separately upon the dissecting-table, and reporting separately the character and constituents of his 'nature-feeling,' makes the book less attractive to the reader than a bolder grouping of the facts might have been, but is perhaps more useful to the student. The distinctness of the historical sequence is won, however, at some cost to the sequence in the kinds and varieties of 'nature-feeling'; and some repetition and overlapping are involved. Flowers, animals, landscape, trees, colour-sense, mountains,—all these and other ingredients of the discussion checker the page; and one would sometimes have desired a more continuous survey of the facts relating to each than the plan permits. But the materials for such a survey are there, and now and then a detached remark throws a mass of apparently unordered facts into luminous perspective. One may notice, for instance,

the distinction drawn between the meagre 'Nature' of the Carlovingian, and the relatively abundant and detailed scenery of the Arthurian, romances; the reaction of the alliterative romance against the French school, showing itself in a recurrence to English scenery as well as to a native form of verse; and the varied scope and function of landscape in the Elizabethan drama. The discrimination between first-hand and 'conventional' Nature-painting, one of the fundamental problems of the whole subject, is consistently kept in view, though we are not quite confident that Dr Moorman always does justice—it is scarcely possible within his limits that he should—to the subtler questions which the problem in practice opens up. It is a nice matter, for instance, to assign the true value to the 'conventional' element in Chaucer's landscape. Everyone now recognises that we owe his multitude of May mornings and daisied lawns to no such spontaneous, untaught delight in these things as gave us Wordsworth's celandines or daffodils. But we need not ignore his delight in Nature because it is enriched and directed by his evident delight in the far-off reflection of Nature caught in the verse of Lorris or Boccaccio. The two sources of feeling, however, easily run together; they support and reinforce each other; and when the actual and the traditional scenery are similar, no skill may avail to distinguish them. There is in any case no doubt of Chaucer's general preference, as an artist, for the trim and ordered landscape. But we should say that in this, as in other respects, the genial freedom of Nature won a securer hold upon his sympathies as his mind and taste matured; and that the man who sent forth his pilgrims in admirable disarray to tell their tales, not in symmetrical decades, or in a closed garden, as in the *Decameron*, but as 'aventure, or cas,' or the whim of Harry Bailey might decree, along the Kentish highway, was also by this time no longer quite the poet who had described that severely uniform 'grove' of the *Boke of the Duchesse*, where 'every tree stood by hymselve, Fro other wel ten foot or twelve.' The Athenian forest where Theseus breaks in upon Palamon and Arcite is no such magnified quincunx as this. But when all is said, it is clear that Chaucer was no fanatical lover of the greenwood, like the singers of Robin Hood and of Gawain.

We have only been able to hint at the rich and varied contents of Dr Moorman's volume. Students of literature will be especially grateful for the care and insight which he has devoted to the Old English poets, too commonly treated as a preserve for the hunter of syntactic or phonetic game. We trust that the second volume, upon the period subsequent to Shakespeare, which we understand Dr Moorman to have in contemplation, may be published in due course. More has been done there, it is true; but the need of a scholarly, acute, and connected survey like the present is no less urgent.

C. H. Herford.

Montaigne, a Study. By R. Warwick Bond. London: Henry Frowde, 1906. 8vo. 93 pp.

This thoughtful and well-informed essay will be welcomed by those who love the writings of Montaigne. A short sketch of the Essayist's life is followed by a short survey of his thought. The comparison of Bacon with Montaigne is a passage of special interest. Having noted many points of similarity in ideas, Mr Bond proceeds as follows:

'For Montaigne, after all, discussion is the main thing: he has too deep-seated a distrust of human powers to expect any very valuable result, and too little patience and industry to get to the end of a subject. For Bacon decision, fruit is the object; his confidence in human capacity is boundless; and his own patience and industry are equal to enormous effort, if hardly to one commensurate with his mighty aim. Montaigne will enjoy, and suggests the same quiet Epicureanism to others: Bacon will achieve, and show others how to do so. There is a world between the golden mean of the one and the arduous ambition of the other; and the moral contrast is as marked as the intellectual. Montaigne's teaching exhibits the higher standard on all points of practice save the gratification of the senses. He upholds disinterested virtue; he expressly repudiates the political doctrines of Machiavelli, cannot away with falseness and dissimulation in princes, and does not believe in any profit to be reaped by wars of aggression. Nothing is worth more to him than his personal happiness and self-respect. With Bacon success in life is the great object, and the doctrines of Machiavelli colour his views at every turn... Montaigne's is as indisputably the warmer and the nobler heart, as Bacon's is the grander and more potent intellect.'

Mr Bond refers to the excellent study of Montaigne by 'Mr M. E. Lowndes.' But may not the author of the *Essays* have had another *fille d'alliance* beside Mlle. de Gournay?

Edward Dowden.

Maurice Scève et la Renaissance Lyonnaise. Par Albert Baur. Paris: H. Champion, 1906. 8vo. vi + 132 pp.

Students of the French Renaissance should be grateful to Dr Baur for having turned his attention to Maurice Scève. For though Scève is far from an attractive poet, the Lyons school, of which he is one of the two chief representatives, forms an important link between the Marotic school and the Pléiade, being connected with the former through Marguérite de Navarre and Des Periers, and with the latter through Pontus de Tyard. Dr Baur has also done well to make Scève the occasion for a general survey of the Renaissance at Lyons, which for a short period was of even greater importance than Paris as a literary centre.

Considering the prominent position occupied by Scève at Lyons, singularly little is known of his life, and Dr Baur with all his industry has added little to our knowledge of it. He modestly claims, however, to have 'extirpated certain errors.' Guided by M. Poidebart's researches he shews that Scève's family had nothing to do with the illustrious Piedmontese house of Ceva. As regards his birth he accepts provisionally the supposition of M. Buche that he was born in 1504 or 1505, but suggests on the evidence of the portrait which appears on the title-page of *Délie*, and on certain expressions of the poet about old age, that he was born two or three years earlier. But this sort of evidence is not very trustworthy, and considering that Scève's first work appeared in 1535, and that he began his poetical career in 1536, I should be inclined to put his birth later rather than earlier than 1505. His death is usually given as 1564, but there is, I believe, no good evidence for this, and Dr Baur rightly points out that all we know about his later days is that he published his *Microcosme* in 1562, and that he is spoken of as dead in 1575. He adds a conjecture of his own that he died in voluntary exile forgotten and unknown.

In the first chapter Dr Baur gives an account of Lyons in the early days of the Renaissance. There are one or two names that I miss; such as Sanctes Pagnini the Hebrew scholar, Benoist Court the editor of the *Aresta Amorum*, Jacques de Ventimille the translator of Xenophon, and, as a temporary resident, Cornelius Agrippa. But on the whole the chapter is full and good. There is also little to criticise in chapters II and III, which deal with Scève's youth and early writings. In chapter IV, on Scève and the Humanists of Lyons, the references to Protestantism are not quite satisfactory. *Les Evangéliques* or *Ceux de l'Evangile* was the regular name by which the Protestants called themselves in these early days. The real parting of the ways between Protestantism and Humanism surely dates from the affair of the Placards in 1634, and the treaty of Nice in 1538 marks only the culminating point of a policy which had become inevitable. It is therefore strange to say that from 1536 to 1538 'there reigned in France a liberty of thought which is almost modern.' At the bottom of page 65 Dr Baur makes it appear that Rabelais took refuge with Guillaume du Bellay in Piedmont as the result of this policy. I think there is some truth in this, but it should have been stated that Rabelais did not go there till 1639 at the earliest, and then in the character of Du Bellay's physician. That Scève was a Protestant is a pure conjecture, without much evidence to support it.

In the chapter on Platonism, a subject of great interest, there are one or two corrections to make. Dr Baur does not know of the edition of *La Parfaicte Amye* published by Dolet in 1542, or of the edition of *L'Amye de Court* published in the same year. Copies of both of these are in the Christie collection at Victoria University, Manchester, and are recorded in Christie's bibliography of Dolet. It is very doubtful whether the ordinary view that *L'Amye de Court* is a reply to *La Parfaicte Amye* is correct.

I have not space to discuss Dr Baur's treatment of Louise Labé and Pernette du Guillet, but it is curious that he does not mention M. Boy's edition of Louise Labé's works, where he would have found an excellent and sober account of her life. The character of both these ladies must remain a matter of opinion, but on the evidence before us it is neither scientific nor good manners to speak of Pernette du Guillet as Scève's mistress or of Louise Labé as a courtesan as if these were ascertained facts. I may add that the third Elegy in which Louise speaks of her age is evidently intended as an *Envoi* to the volume, and was therefore presumably written just before its publication. I hope that Dr Baur in his promised work on Scève's poetry will deal more fully with the question of the influence of *Délie* on Louise Labé's sonnets. I confess I am somewhat sceptical as to its existence. With reference to what he says on p. 115, I would call his attention to M. Vigney's *L'influence italienne chez les précurseurs de la Pléiade*, in which the influence on *Délie* of Serafino dell' Aquila is clearly set forth.

An interesting chapter is devoted to the visit of Henri II to Lyons in 1548. The preparations for his reception were intrusted to Maurice Scève with the co-operation of Du Choul, Aneau, and others, and Scève was ordered to write the official account of the proceedings. This was published by Roville in 1549, and is chiefly known for the beautiful woodcuts with which it is illustrated. Dr Baur attributes them to Bernard Salomon, but I do not know on what authority. They have been conjecturally attributed by M. Bouchot to Corneille of Lyons.

ARTHUR TILLEY.

La Poésie Philosophique au XIX^e^ siècle: Lamartine. Par MARC CITOLEUX. Paris: Plon. 1906. xi + 386 pp.

Madame Ackermann. Par MARC CITOLEUX. Paris: Plon. 1906. xiii + 249 pp.

Dans ces deux importants ouvrages, l'auteur nous donne les premiers résultats d'une enquête qu'il a entreprise sur la Poésie Philosophique au dix-neuvième siècle. Il a été naturellement amené, affirme-t-il, à étudier Lamartine 'parce qu'il apparaissait le premier en date, et ensuite M^me^ Ackermann pour des raisons personnelles.' C'est trop peu dire; si M. Citoleux a connu M^me^ Ackermann et a pu, grâce à ses souvenirs, consacrer une étude très vivante à cette femme de génie qu'on a pu comparer à Leopardi, c'est un intérêt de plus qui s'ajoute à son livre. Mais en rapprochant M^me^ Ackermann et Lamartine, il a pu, sans faire tort à aucun des deux, leur rendre enfin à tous deux la place qu'ils méritent, celle-là parmi les poètes, celui-ci parmi les penseurs: il a surtout cédé à l'attrait de son sujet; quels poètes ont été en France plus 'philosophes' que Madame Ackermann, tout le monde le reconnait, et que Lamartine, M. Citoleux l'a prouvé. Quelques mots sur l'ouvrage qu'il a consacré à ce dernier suffiront à indiquer l'originalité de ses aperçus, la sûreté de sa méthode, et l'intérêt de ces études.

Lamartine *philosophe*! Jusqu'ici on le célébrait comme un chanteur admirable, comme un rêveur, comme le poète de l'idéal, autant dire des aspirations les plus nobles sans doute mais aussi les plus obscures de l'âme humaine. M. Citoleux le premier s'est avisé d'analyser chacun de ses poèmes, d'en rechercher la genèse, d'en interpréter le sens. Lamartine est un spiritualiste, il a voulu l'être, et l'histoire de sa pensée, c'est l'histoire des luttes qu'il a soutenues pour affermir et défendre son spiritualisme. Cette histoire peut se résumer en trois périodes: 1. Dans les *Méditations* (1820), son spiritualisme s'appuie sur le christianisme; découragé par un malheur, il est pessimiste et n'accorde rien à la raison (scepticisme), il ne veut écouter que la voix de son cœur, il est mystique: pourtant des tendances nouvelles se font jour: deviendra-t-il rationaliste? En réalité, son christianisme ira s'affaiblissant et le rationalisme le remplacera peu à peu (*Secondes Méditations*); 2. Dès 1832 (*Voyage en Orient*), Lamartine se montre rationaliste convaincu; n'ayant aucun système bien conçu, il se contente d'adopter la philosophie du jour, l'éclectisme de V. Cousin; la crise religieuse est terminée.—Mais en même temps dans quelle contradiction s'engage le poète? Il fut toujours tenté de donner une âme à l'univers; aussi, confiant dans la méthode éclectique, il se laisse gagner par le panthéisme (*Chute d'un Ange*, 1835). D'ailleurs il ne cesse de proclamer en même temps l'individualité de l'homme et de Dieu; 3. S'apercevant de la contradiction, Lamartine renonce à l'éclectisme et au panthéisme (*Cours de Littérature*, 1856); il revient au spiritualisme de sa jeunesse, mais à un spiritualisme moins douloureux et moins vague, que le rationalisme éclaire et soutient (*Le Désert, la Vigne et la Maison*).

Cette pensée 'est partout nuancée des reflets de la vie,' non seulement de la vie personnelle du poète, mais de la vie même de son siècle, et l'histoire de sa pensée se mêle intimement à l'histoire même des idées de son époque. M. Citoleux a recherché en effet les sources de la poésie de Lamartine; il a montré avec beaucoup de précision tout ce que le poète devait à J. J. Rousseau dont il a subi l'influence fascinatrice, comme tous ses contemporains: 'la profession de foi du Vicaire Savoyard fut le catéchisme du Romantisme'; cette partie du livre de M. Citoleux est peut être la plus importante. Loin de s'isoler dans un rêve, ou de vouloir tout ignorer, Lamartine a lu, il a médité les théoriciens de la politique comme Bonald, de Maistre et Lamennais, les théocrates et les économistes; entre la philosophie de V. Cousin et la doctrine de Lamartine, il y a des 'rapports singuliers.' Bref, la doctrine de Lamartine fut 'représentative' de l'époque, et sans doute elle ne fut pas seulement représentative, car beaucoup de systèmes et de théories qui agitaient les esprits alors sont oubliés aujourd'hui, et la poésie de Lamartine reste vivante; mais pour en comprendre la valeur, il faut pouvoir—rien n'est plus facile désormais—en démêler tous les éléments: les idées que Lamartine a empruntées, et l'on comprendra ainsi pourquoi il a été tant admiré de son siècle—les sentiments que le poète a trouvés dans son âme, une des plus riches qu'on puisse imaginer, et l'on comprendra pourquoi l'œuvre de Lamartine survivra à son siècle.

Amené à comparer Lamartine à Gœthe et à Byron, M. Citoleux a écrit sur l'influence de ces deux derniers des pages définitives (pp. 208, 226 et suivantes). Lamartine disait à propos de *Werther*: 'la mélancolie des grandes passions s'est inoculée en moi par ce livre. J'ai touché avec lui au fond de l'abîme humain. Voyez ce que j'ai dit trente ans après dans le poème de *Jocelyn*.' Comme Gœthe, Lamartine est frappé de l'harmonie des choses; comme Gœthe, il se laisse gagner par l'amour du progrès et de l'humanité: la perfectibilité et l'activité furent un rêve romantique: la bonté et la majesté humaine en furent un autre. Lamartine semble avoir voulu résister à l'influence de Byron; M. Citoleux a clairement marqué toutes les différences qui séparent les héros byroniens et les héros de Lamartine, les uns qui ont commis tous les crimes et possèdent une vertu, l'amour, les autres qui n'ont pas de vices et qui s'élèvent par l'amour à toutes les vertus. Lamartine néanmoins a beaucoup emprunté à Byron, des inventions de détail, l'idée d'opposer la bonté et la perversité de l'âme humaine, surtout le sentiment de l'infini.

On voit par là que, si elle est capitale pour l'intelligence des œuvres de Lamartine et pour l'histoire des idées au XIX[e] siècle, cette étude sur Lamartine,—j'en pourrais dire tout autant de l'étude sur Madame Ackermann—est aussi une importante contribution à l'histoire de la littérature européenne qui s'élabore en ce moment.

F. Gohin.

Laurence Sterne in Germany. A Contribution to the Study of the Literary Relations of England and Germany in the Eighteenth Century. By Harvey Waterman Thayer. (*Columbia University Germanic Studies,* Vol. II, No. 1.) New York: Columbia University Press. 1905. 8vo, viii + 198 pp.

Types of Weltschmerz in German Poetry. By Wilhelm Alfred Braun. (Same series, Vol. II, No. 2.) New York: Columbia University Press. 1905. 8vo, viii + 91 pp.

Dr Thayer has evidently bestowed a great deal of time and care on the production of his exhaustive monograph on 'Laurence Sterne in Germany,' no doubt one of the most interesting chapters in the literary relations of England and Germany in the eighteenth century. Some aspects of the question had been treated before in recent monographs that are enumerated by Dr Thayer in his very full and valuable bibliography, but never has the whole question of Sterne's influence on German literature (translations, adaptations and imitations) been dealt with on so broad a basis. The learned author promises (p. 155) as a continuation of the present essay 'a detailed, minute study of von Thümmel, Hippel and Jean Paul in connection with the English master.'

After a short introductory chapter, Thayer first discusses Sterne's position in Germany before the publication of the *Sentimental Journey*;

the next chapter is devoted to the *Sentimental Journey* itself; the fourth deals with Sterne in Germany after the publication of *Tristram Shandy*—discussing the two works, his letters, sermons, and also works written in his style. The fifth chapter discusses in a general way Sterne's influence over all the German-speaking countries; the sixth characterizes his imitators, while the seventh sets forth the opposition to Sterne and his type of sentimentalism. A useful bibliography, well arranged, concludes the monograph in which no writer or work of any importance seems to have been overlooked and which, on account of its well-balanced judgment no less than the completeness of the material brought together and critically examined, may fairly be called conclusive.

The author shows himself thoroughly well acquainted with the many books and pamphlets dealing with his subject in English and German critical literature, and in not a few cases he has been able to supplement and correct them. Corrections of standard histories of literature, books of reference or good monographs occur on pages 34, 35, 41, 42, 47, 92—93, 95, 106, 140, 154. There are but a few misprints, and these not important. On page 166, in the line 'Freund, ein empfindsames Herz ist nicht für diese Welt' the uninflected form *empfindsam* should obviously be substituted; the reading *empfindsames* spoils the alexandrine metre in which the extract is written.

In his excellent treatise on *Types of Weltschmerz in German Poetry,* that 'peculiar phase of lyric feeling which has characterized German literature, often in a more or less epidemic form, since the days of *Werther*,' Dr Braun has given a valuable contribution to the natural history of 'Weltschmerz.' The introductory chapter begins with a careful distinction between pessimism and Weltschmerz, which terms are not unfrequently used as synonyms. The author shows that Weltschmerz is entirely a matter of 'Gemüt,' while in pessimism we have the result of deliberate philosophic argument; hence Weltschmerz is, to adopt James Sully's subdivision of pessimism, a kind of 'unreasoned pessimism.' Braun himself defines the term, which dates from an early period in the nineteenth century, as 'the poetic expression of an abnormal sensitiveness of the feelings to the moral and physical evils and misery of existence—a condition which may or may not be based upon a reasoned conviction that the sum of human misery is greater than the sum of human happiness.' He adds 'that it is usually characterized also by a certain lack of will-energy, a sort of sentimental yielding to these painful emotions.' After this general definition, the author proceeds to classify, roughly speaking, the various kinds of Weltschmerz with regard to their origin either as 'cosmic' or as 'egoistic,' the former proceeding from the general (the realization of the sad fate of humanity) to the particular (personal unhappiness looked upon as part of the common destiny), the latter going the opposite way from the particular to the general. He admits, however, that these types are not necessarily entirely distinct, and also justly points out that 'in some cases Weltschmerz may arise from honest conviction or genuine despair, in others it may be something entirely

artificial, merely a cloak to cover personal defects. Sometimes it may even be due to a desire to pose as a martyr, and sometimes no more than an attempt to ape the prevailing fashion.'

After having settled these preliminary questions of definition and origin, the author proceeds to the discussion of Weltschmerz in its outward manifestations, as it finds expression in the writings of prominent authors. Three German poets are singled out for detailed study as representing distinct types under which the author believes that all other poets of Weltschmerz may be classified and to which they will at least be found analogous. A clearer idea is obtained in this way than if a great number of writers had been enumerated, but treated in less detail. The poets selected are Hölderlin, Lenau, and Heine. They represent 'three progressive stages of Weltschmerz viewed as a psychological process: Hölderlin naïve, Lenau self-conscious, Heine endeavouring to conceal his melancholy beneath the disguise of self-irony.' According to Braun, we have 'in Hölderlin the ardent Hellenic idealist; Lenau exhibits the profoundly pathetic side of Weltschmerz, while Heine is its satirist.' The detailed account of the life and writings of these three selected poets (Chapters ii—iv) is preceded by a short but good sketch of the historical background from which these figures stand out. Dr Braun rightly insists on the fact that Weltschmerz is essentially a symptom of a time of transition and conflict, and that it was in particular a characteristic product of a time when scientific exactness of thinking had not yet become an integral part of education. This accounts for the difference between the modern pessimism of Ibsen and the romantic Weltschmerz of the uncritical German poets of the first half of the nineteenth century.

In the chapter on Heine there is an interesting discussion of the Byronic pose and a judicious estimation of Byron's influence in general upon the German poet. Dr Braun rightly observes that in his Weltschmerz, Heine does not, like Byron, make his transition from the personal to the universal stage. Instead of becoming cosmic, his Weltschmerz remains for ever egoistic. A very full bibliography is a welcome addition to the admirable treatise.

Both monographs are deserving of high praise. They are models of what such investigations ought to be. Students of German literature owe a new debt of gratitude to Professor Calvin Thomas, one of the general editors of the *Columbia University Germanic Studies*, for having brought out in his series these two valuable contributions to the critical investigation of fascinating modern literary problems. We look forward to the continuation of the excellent series with pleasant anticipations.

Karl Breul.

Russian Reader. Accented Texts, Grammatical and Explanatory Notes, Vocabulary. By PAUL BOYER and N. SPERANSKI. Adapted for English-speaking Students by S. N. HARPER. Chicago: University of Chicago Press; London: Luzac and Co., 1906. 8vo. x + 386 pp.

Most of the Russian Grammars which have appeared in England of late have been furnished with reading-lessons, but no special Reading Book has been published since that of the late Henry Riola, now nearly thirty years ago. Riola's book was useful, but left much to be desired. The author of the present more scholarly and practical work, M. Paul Boyer, is Professor at the French École des Langues Orientales, and has already shown his grasp of the Russian language by his treatise on the Russian verb and other learned labours. The pieces chosen for his Reader are from the tales of Tolstoi, and are admirably adapted for the study of Russian on account of the phrases of everyday life and the colloquialisms with which they abound. They also illustrate Russian customs and superstitions, and M. Boyer furnishes good explanations of the allusions. In the notes appended the chief difficulties of the grammar are discussed. We may add that each word is carefully accented, and thus, while the learner is taught the laws of the accents, he is habituated to their correct use. On no point is M. Boyer more careful than in his account of the so-called 'aspects' of the verbs, the great difficulty of the Slavonic languages. Besides an appendix full of valuable matter, we have Russian and English indexes and a vocabulary. The learned work of M. Boyer has been made accessible to English-speaking students by the joint labours of Mr S. N. Harper of the University of Chicago and Mr E. H. Minns of Cambridge. The fine, clear type and the excellent paper and binding of the book are to the credit of the University Press of Chicago. We hope it will have a wide circulation in this country.

W. R. MORFILL.

MINOR NOTICES.

The interest of Dr T. B. Rudmose-Brown's *Étude comparée de la Versification française et de la Versification anglaise, l'Alexandrin et le Blank Verse* (Grenoble: Allier frères, 1905) appears to us to lie more in the general theoretic position than in the particular comparative application which supplies the title but is largely subordinated in the book. The first portion of this consists in an analysis of what may be called the basis of metre, accent, quantity and the rest. We doubt whether the views put forward as to the nature and interrelation of these prime factors can be sustained in the face of phonological research, but the question is one of great complexity and difficulty, and, happily for the further development of the author's theory of metre, not fundamental. We can all agree upon the fact that some syllables in every

verse possess what is here called a 'relief psychologique'; but our author goes on to say that every verse can be divided up into sections each containing one of these predominant syllables either at its beginning or end, according to the scheme chosen, which sections—due allowance being made for the pauses of the line—will represent equal temporal periods. This is a definite proposition capable of experimental verification or refutation. That the periods can be made equal will not be seriously questioned, but (i) are the periods equal in the natural reading of the verse? and (ii) does the passage cease to produce the effect of verse if the periods are deliberately made unequal? Temporal equivalence may have something to do with modern metre, but we hardly think that the theory, at least in the form here propounded, can stand the test of empirical investigation.

W. W. G.

Pierce the Ploughmans Crede (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1906) is a reissue of the edition of the *Crede* published by Dr Skeat almost forty years ago. In 1867 Dr Skeat had already brought out his great edition of Langland's *Piers Plowman*, which specially qualified him to edit the *Crede*; and the very small number of the alterations which it has now been found necessary to make is a remarkable testimony to the thoroughness with which the work was then done. One point, the identity of the author of the *Crede* with the author of the so-called *Plowmans Tale*, which Dr Skeat urged strongly in 1867, he admits to be very doubtful; the lines in the *Tale* on which the argument was founded he now believes to be spurious. With this exception, however, the preface of 1867 needs little alteration. The same remark applies to the text and notes. A few new readings are suggested, such as 'comsing' for the word 'begynnynge,' which spoils the alliteration in the first line: 'Cros and curteis Crist. þis begynnynge spede.' Here and there a note is expanded, such as that upon the 'Pied Friars'; and the mistaken rendering of line 230, 'Hyt was good y-now of ground. greyn for to beren,' which was the one serious fault in the old edition, is now corrected. The new edition deserves a hearty welcome, as making available for class use and for a more extensive circle of readers a poem which has never met with the attention it merits. The elaborate description of the Friars and their great houses makes the *Crede* a most important document for the history of English social life, and shows powers of no mean order in the writer.

R. W. C.

Mr F. J. Snell's two volumes dealing with the period of English literature between 1400 and 1580 (*The Age of Transition*. Vol. I: *The Poets*; Vol. II: *The Dramatists and Prose Writers*. London: G. Bell and Sons, 1905) form a good companion to his *Age of Chaucer* in the same series, and give a clear and comprehensive view of the period. The author loves his subject and knows how to make it

interesting. We must, we suppose, blame neither him nor his publisher too much for an omission which is, after all, more national than individual. In a guide to a period so little generally known as the fifteenth century, one has a right to expect not only some bibliography, but also detailed references to the authorities from whose researches the author has drawn his conclusions. That Mr Snell has not neglected recent research is clear, but he should make it easier for his readers to compare his results with those of others. In the next edition of volume I, a passage on page 69 might with advantage be re-written. The trite and unscientific contrast of the 'turbid waters' of a dialect with the 'undefiled well' of the *Schriftsprache* is, or should be, out of place in a serious work.

J. H. G. G.

Under the title *Documents illustrating Elizabethan Poetry* (London: Routledge and Sons, 1906), Mr Laurie Magnus brings together Sidney's *Apology for Poetry* and certain portions of Webbe's *Discourse of English Poetry*, and of *The Art of English Poetry*, attributed to George or Richard Puttenham. All of these Elizabethan studies in literary criticism have been edited before, but in the cheap and handy form in which they now appear, with Introduction and footnotes, they should prove of service to the student of English literature. In his Introduction Mr Magnus give us the main events in Sidney's life and says what can be said about Webbe and Puttenham. He deals briefly with the circumstances under which their treatises were produced, but makes no attempt to connect them with the critical side of the great classical revival under the aegis of which they were written. The text of the three treatises has in each case been modernised.

F. W. M.

All lovers of Dante owe a debt to the enterprising house of Giusti in Leghorn, whence issues a steady stream of literature bearing on their subject, ranging from the excellent little manuals of the *Biblioteca degli Studenti*, some of which we have noticed recently, to the more ambitious and exhaustive studies, of which Professor A. Bonaventura's *Dante e la Musica* (1904) is an excellent example. The volume opens with an able chapter on the state and condition of music in Dante's day, and then deals in detail and somewhat technically with the different departments of the subject. In one appendix are collected together all the passages from Dante's works which bear on music; in another the 'Terminologia musicale' used in the *Divina Commedia*. The book concludes with a bibliography of recent works on the subject. Some nineteen or twenty articles are enumerated, of which all but one—be it noted—are Italian. Of Signor Nicola Scaranno's eleven essays (*Saggi danteschi*, Livorno: Giusti, 1905), nine have already appeared in more fugitive form, and some of these in their present form bear the honourable scars of serious criticism. They deal with subjects of varying importance but

of perennial interest, such as the relative positions of Cato and Virgil in the other world; the 'solidity of the shades,' the 'Apparition of the Blessed,' the 'Transformation of the Robbers.' Two are now published for the first time, *Dante Giudice* and *Il Lombardo di Virgilio*, the latter but three pages long. On 'Dante as Judge' there are interesting suggestions, and not least in connection with Manfredi and Guido da Montefeltro. Signor Paridi Chistoni has done well to publish in permanent form his prize essay of 1900 (*La seconda fase del pensiero dantesco*, Livorno: Giusti, 1903). In opposition to the prevalent tendency among Dantists to apotheosise the 'Divine Poet,' our author insists on regarding him as a real man of 1300, and on estimating his intellectual development 'nakedly, crudely, without false enthusiasms or pious falsehoods.' For him the Dante of the *Vita Nuova* is—dare we say it?—a smatterer compared with the Dante of the *Convivio*, and the erudition of the earlier stage comprises but indirect and partial knowledge of the authors cited. Signor Chistoni's method is certainly the only sound one, and we are glad that it makes for a real Beatrice of flesh and blood. Signor Pier Angelo Menzio's *Il traviamento intellettuale di Dante Alighieri* (Livorno: Giusti, 1903)—also a prize essay—is an elaborate criticism of the theories of Witte, Scartazzini, and other nineteenth century writers on the vexed question of the 'traviamento.' The fact of this period of error is undeniable from the first twelve lines of the *Divina Commedia*, to go no further; but the exact nature of it, and its place in the evolution of the Poet's soul remains and will remain a subject open to discussion. Many of us will agree with the writer that the scene in the Terrestrial Paradise cannot be explained on a theory of merely intellectual infidelity.

The fourth edition of G. A. Scartazzini's *editio minor* of the *Divina Commedia*, with its remarkably rich and concise commentary, appeared as late as 1902, about eighteen months after the celebrated Dantist's death; and now a fifth (Milan: Hoepli, 1907) is called for. In the edition of 1902 the learned and judicious editor (G. Vandelli) had already excised most of the blemishes which marred an otherwise exceptionally meritorious work—notably the ebullitions of temper which were so strange a feature of Scartazzini's writings. The present edition carries on the same process a little further, and, for the rest, is content with the introduction of such slight modifications as the progress of criticism has rendered necessary. The type and paging remain to all intents and purposes the same. The volume is worthy of Messrs Hoepli, and no further commendation is needed.

L. R.

Mr Thomas Rea has, in his *Schiller's Dramas and Poems in England* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1906), taken up a subject which was well worthy of investigation. The method he has adopted has been to trace the history of Schiller's dramas in English, giving a short estimate of the merits of each translation. One is inclined to ask occasionally *cui bono?* in view of the quality of the majority of these translations:

but, accepting Mr Rea's criticism as useful as far as it goes, we think it a pity that so much of the book should be taken up with it, to the exclusion of matters that fall more properly within the sphere of research. The wider aspects of English opinion of Schiller or of Schiller's influence on English writers, are hardly touched upon. The most interesting chapters from the point of view of English literature, are naturally those on *Die Räuber* and *Wallenstein*, and Mr Rea's account of the fate of both dramas in England is good. He has unfortunately handicapped himself by restricting his survey to the translations of Schiller contained in the Cambridge University Library and the British Museum, so that his work is deprived of the value it might otherwise have had as a contribution to Schiller Bibliography.

J. G. R.

The object of Professor Alexander Lochmer in compiling his useful *English-Croatian Dictionary* (Senj, 1906) of 1112 pages is to help his countrymen to acquire our language, in the dignity and future prospects of which he is a strenuous believer. He has brought together a mass of valuable information, the result of many years study. His earlier work on English, a grammar for his countrymen, was produced about ten years ago. While Professor Lochmer's Dictionary cannot but help to spread the knowledge of English—and few, we believe, know English as well as he among those who are not natives—it will also be useful to Englishmen who wish to gain a knowledge of the Serbo-Croatian language, one of the noblest of the Slavonic group. It seems only right that hearty welcome should be given in an English philological journal to so meritorious a work.

W. R. M.

Dr Wenzel Vondrák, who has just published the first volume of a *Vergleichende Slavische Grammatik* (*Lautlehre und Stammbildungslehre*) (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1906), is already well known in the field of Slavonic philology by his Old Slavonic Grammar and his edition of the Freising manuscript which contains the oldest specimens of Slavonic writing. The great *Vergleichende Grammatik* of Miklosich has long been before the public, the second edition having appeared more than thirty years ago, and it seemed time to have a new comparative grammar which should be abreast of the latest results of philological studies. This Dr Vondrák endeavours to furnish. We hope to return to his valuable work at a later period; meanwhile readers will be struck by the position which he assigns to Russian among the other Slavonic languages.

W. R. M.

NEW PUBLICATIONS.

September—November, 1906.

GENERAL.

JAKOB, F., Die Fabel von Atreus und Thyestes in den wichtigsten Tragödien der englischen, französischen und italienischen Literatur. (Münchener Beiträge zur roman. und engl. Philologie, XXXVII.) Leipzig, Deichert. 4 M.

SPECK, H. B. G., Katilina im Drama der Weltliteratur. (Breslauer Beiträge zur Literaturgeschichte, IV.) Leipzig, Hesse. 2 M. 15.

STEMPLINGER, E., Das Fortleben der Horazischen Lyrik seit der Renaissance. Leipzig, Teubner. 8 M.

VEDEL, V., Ridderromantiken i fransk og tysk Middelalder. Copenhagen, Gyldendal. 8 kr.

ROMANCE LANGUAGES.

General.

SCHUCHARDT, H., Baskisch und Romanisch. Zu de Azkues baskischem Wörterbuch. I. (Beihefte der Zeitschrift für roman. Philologie, VI.) Halle, Niemeyer. 2 M.

Latin.

HROTSVITHAE Opera. Ed. K. Strecker. Leipzig, Teubner. 4 M.

PLENKERS, H., Untersuchungen zur Überlieferungsgeschichte der ältesten lateinischen Mönchsregeln. (Quellen und Untersuchungen zur lateinischen Philologie des Mittelalters, I, 3.) Munich, Beck. 7 M.

WEISE, P., Petrus de Crescentiis. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters (Programm). Hamburg, Herold. 1 M. 50.

Italian.

AGRESTA, G., Scritti letterari. (La Poesia del dolore negli scrittori del 'dolce stil nuovo.' Sul pessimismo di G. Leopardi con un saggio di bibliografia leopardiana.) Messina, Rizzotti. 1 L. 50.

BOCCACCIO, G., Il desegno del Decamerone con commento di G. Gigli. Leghorn, Giusti. 2 L.

BOIARDO, M. M., Orlando Innamorato, riscontrato sul codice trivalziano e su le prime stampe da Foffano. Vol. I. Bologna, Romagnoli-Dall' Acqua. 14 L.

CAPPA, L. A., La politica di Dante e di Marsilio da Padova. Rome, Roux e Viarengo. 2 L.

DANTE ALIGHIERI, La Divina Commedia. Riveduta nel testo e commentata da G. Scartazzini. 5a Edizione riveduta da G. Vandelli. Milan, Hoepli. 4 L. 50.

FINZI, G., Pétrarque, sa vie et son œuvre. Trad. par Mad. Thiérard-Baudrillart. Paris, Perrin. 3 fr. 50.

FORD, J. D. M. and M. A., The Romances of Chivalry in Italian Verse. Selections with Introduction and Notes. New York, Holt. 2 dol. net.

Franzoni, A., Le grandi odi storiche di G. Carducci. Commentate con prefazione sull' opera del poeta. Lodi, Wilmant. 2 L.

Galletti, G., Cenni e profili letterari. Citta di Castello, Lapi. 2 L.

Heywood, W., The Little Flowers of the Glorious Messer St Francis and of his Friars. Done into English. With an Introduction by A. G. Ferrers-Howell. London, Methuen. 5*s.* net.

Lajolo, G., Simboli ed enigmi danteschi. Vol. I. Rome, Roux e Viarengo. 3 L. 50.

Libro, Il, de varie romanze volgare Codice Vat. 3793. A cura di F. Egidi. Fasc. VI. Rome, Loescher. 12 L.

Longinotti, G. e M. Baccini, La letteratura italiana nella storia della cultura. Vols. I, II. Florence, Sansoni. 8 L.

Maffei, L., Il simbolo in Dante e Goethe. Alba, Sineo. 1 L. 50.

Manzoni, A., Opere complete. Vol. III. Le tragedie, gli inni sacri e le odi. A cura di M. Scherillo. Milan, Hoepli. 6 L. 50.

Pasquetti, G., L' oratorio musicale in Italia. Storia critico letteraria. Florence Le Monnier. 5 L.

Simioni, A., Jacopo Vittorelli (1749–1835). La vita e gli scritti, con la biografia delle opere, documenti e poesie inedite. Rocca S. Casciano, Cappelli. 3 L.

Vasari, G., Le Opere, con nuove annotazioni e commenti di G. Milanesi. 9 vols. Florence, Sansoni. 100 L.

Zumbini, B., Studi di letteratura italiana. 2a edizione riveduta dall' autore con l' aggiunta di un saggio sulle stanze del Poliziano. Florence, Le Monnier. 4 L.

Spanish.

Apráiz, J., Juicio de 'La Tia Fingida.' Copia de tres ediciones raras y edición crítica de esta novela. Madrid, Imp. de los Sucesores de Hernando.

Castro Alonso, M. de, La Moralidad del 'Quijote.' Valladolid, J. M. de la Cuesta. 4 pes.

Espronceda, J. de, Obras poéticas, precedidas de la biografía del autor. Madrid, Maucci. 2 pes.

Miret i Sans, El més antig text literari escrit en catalá precedit per una colecció de documents dels segles XIe, XIIe i XIIIe. Barcelona, Tip. 'L'Avenç.'

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Pérez Pastor, C., Bibliografía madrileña ó descripción de las obras impresas en Madrid. Parte segunda (1601 al 1620). Madrid, Tip. de la Rev. de Archivos. 15 pes.

Roumanian.

Alexici, G., Geschichte der rumänischen Literatur. In deutscher Umarbeitung von K. Dieterich. Leipzig, Amelang. 7 M. 50.

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'TANQUAM EXPLORATOR': JONSON'S METHOD IN THE 'DISCOVERIES.'

CRITICISM was late in reaching the *Discoveries* of Ben Jonson. Gifford, whose edition must at present be accepted as the standard one, was in ill health when the final volume containing the prose works passed through the press, and there are other signs that he was weary of his task. He left the *Discoveries* quite unannotated, even resisting the temptation to append a violent note to the comment upon Shakespeare. Scarcely a hint of appreciation is to be found before the appearance of Mr Swinburne's sympathetic essay; but his assertion that, alike in their matter and their style, the *Discoveries* compare favourably with the *Essays* of Bacon at least fixed attention. The scholarly edition of Professor Schelling followed in 1892; in this, for the first time, a serious effort was made to elucidate the text and the subject-matter. In particular Professor Schelling devoted minute labour to the task of tracing Jonson's indebtedness to ancient writers, especially to Quintilian and the Senecas. But a further source of inspiration was lightly touched, if not ignored, in this edition, and it was reserved for Professor Spingarn two years ago to give the first indication of Jonson's debt to the humanists of the Renaissance. They influenced him profoundly, but except in the case of Erasmus, flashes of whose irony or humour brighten the commentaries upon *Every Man out of his Humour* and *The Alchemist*, Jonson's editors have been blind to this significant phase of his literary studies. Professor Spingarn traced the borrowings from Heinsius and Buchler. Jonson indicated his obligation to the former by means of a marginal reference, but the debt to Buchler would have passed unnoticed by eyes less keen than those of the author of *Literary Criticism in the Renaissance.*

I propose to make a further contribution towards elucidating this aspect of the *Discoveries.* But it is necessary at the outset to realise the scope and character of this miscellaneous collection of notes, jottings, and miniature essays published posthumously in the 1640 folio

of Jonson's works. They had a separate title-page which is certainly Jonson's own; it reads as follows:—*Timber: or, Discoveries; Made upon Men and Matter: as they have flow'd out of his daily Readings; or had their refluxe to his peculiar Notion of the Times. By Ben: Iohnson. Tecum habita, ut noris quam sit tibi curta supellex. Pers. sat.* 4. *London, Printed M.DC.XLI.* And on the first page the head-line is *Explorata: or, Discoveries*—appropriate for a writer who took Seneca's 'Tanquam explorator' for his motto and inscribed it on the books in his library. These titles are significant. On Jonson's own showing the material of the *Discoveries* is borrowed; and, as a matter of fact, I doubt if they contain a single original remark. Even the autobiography is from the antique. Jonson's note on memory and his regretful record of its failing power in his own case (Folio, p. 95) are a transcript of the elder Seneca's experience. The man who could find himself in Seneca, would be sure to find his contemporaries also, and the criticism on Shakespeare and the noble tribute to Bacon are similarly copied or adapted. There was in this no insincerity or pose. Jonson, on the purely literary side, was 'more an antique Roman' than an Englishman. Steeped in the old classics himself, he prescribed for Drummond of Hawthornden steady doses of Quintilian as a sort of literary hellebore. He scorned borrowers from Petrarch and contemporaries who, for the allegory of a masque, preferred 'a few Italian herbs, pick'd vp, and made into a sallade' to the 'nourishing, and sound meates' of classicism.

So earnest a student of antiquity was sure to hail its re-birth in the writings of the humanists, and he drew freely upon these for inspiration. The oddest results sometimes 'flow'd out of his daily Readings' in consequence. Even such a commonplace of his quarrelsome life as the accusation of envy[1] which he levelled at his enemies is an echo of J. J. Scaliger's *Confutatio Stultissimae Burdonum Fabulae, Auctore I. R.*[2] *Batavo Iuris Studioso* included in the Frankfort *Opuscula* of 1612. Jonson's copy of this edition is in the Dyce Library at South Kensington, and the extract here quoted is marked and underlined.

[1] I have just come across a delightful instance. Jonson's copy of Scriverius' *Martial* (ed. 1619), marked with his private annotations, has lately been sold. By the courtesy of Mr Frank T. Sabin I have had an opportunity of examining it. An epigram addressed to the Emperor (IV, xxvii) begins:

Saepe meos laudare soles, Auguste, libellos.
invidus ecce negat: num minus ergo soles?

Against the second line Jonson has written 'Inigo.' The scene changes to London at once, with James honouring the virtuous Ben and Inigo Jones sneering in the background.

[2] 'Janus Rutgersius' was a pseudonym of J. J. Scaliger.

Envy is no new thing, nor was it borne onely in our times. The Ages past have brought it forth, and the comming Ages will. So long as there are men fit for it, *quorum odium virtute relictâ placet*, it will never be wanting. It is a barbarous envy, to take from those mens vertues, which because thou canst not arrive at, thou impotently despaires to imitate. Is it a crime in me that I know that, which others had not yet knowne, but from me? or that I am the Author of many things, which never would have come in thy thought, but that I taught them? It is a new, but a foolish way you have found out, that whom you cannot equall, or come neere in doing, you would destroy, or ruine with evill speaking: As if you had bound both your wits, and natures prentises to slander, and then came forth the best Artificers, when you could forme the foulest calumnies.

Indeed, nothing is of more credit, or request now, then a petulant paper, or scoffing verses; and it is but convenient to the times and manners wee live with; to have then the worst writings, and studies flourish, when the best begin to be despis'd. *Ill Arts* begin, where good end.

The time was, when men would learne, and study good things; not envie those that had them. Then men were had in price for learning: now, letters onely make men vile. Hee is upbraydingly call'd a *Poet*, as if it were a most contemptible *Nick-name*. But the *Professors* (indeed) have made the learning cheape. Rayling, and tinckling *Rimers*, whose Writings the vulgar more greedily reade; as being taken with the scurrility, and petulancie of such wits. Hee shall not have a Reader now, unlesse hee jeere and lye. It is the food of mens natures: the diet of the times! *Gallants* cannot sleepe else. The Writer must lye, and the gentle Reader rests happy, to heare the worthiest workes mis-interpreted; the clearest actions obscured: the innocent'st life traduc'd; And in such a licence of lying, a field so fruitfull of slanders, how can there be matter wanting to his laughter? Hence comes the *Epidemicall* Infection. For how can they escape the contagion of the Writings, whom the virulency of the calumnies hath not stav'd off from reading.

Nothing doth more invite a greedy

Non nova res est invidia, candide lector, neque nunc primum nata. Omne saeculum eam tulit: omne feret. Atque adeo nunquam deerunt invidi quam diu existent qui invidiae opportuni sint, homines praestantissimi qui quidem eam evitare non possunt nisi... [improborum] odium virtute relicta placent....[Litterae] nihil aliud sunt quam feritas quaedam animi et barbara immanitas quae dolorem ex inscitia cuius sibi conscia est in eis persequitur quorum virtutibus ideo obtrectat quia eas assequi nequit, imitari desperat. Ne quis longe petat tanti odii causas, sciat hodie magnum crimen esse te scire quod nemo aliunde quam ex te scire potuerit, aut te esse alicuius praeclarae rei auctorem quae alteri in mentem non venerit...Et nova vel potius stulta scribendi via ad commendationem nominis sui grassantur ut se doctos credi posse sperent si alios indoctos probare possint;...unicum subsidium superest ut ad inusitatum et inauditum genus quoddam calumniarum sese convertant. Qua in re ita vires suas et ingenia subegerunt ut praecepta criminandi soli edere et docere possint, neque ullus pluris sit nisi quantum in maledicendo profecerit: neque vendibilior merx vulgo quam petulans et protervus liber. Et certe non alii quam huic saeculo convenientius erat nefaria scripta nasci quo bonae artes incipiunt desinere. Nam non ita pridem cum illae vigerent, tunc illas discere quam aliis invidere malebant. Nunc quia eas discere nolunt, aliis eas invident. Tunc homines propter litteras in pretio erant: nunc litterae propter homines sordent.... Nam difficile est ut contagio quaedam improbitatis ex eo libro ad eum non perveniat quem a legendo petulantia calumniarum non deterruerit: quia libenter eorum mores imitamur quorum ingeniis gaudemus.... Mutus erit qui obtrectare nesciet. Lectorem non habebit qui maledice et contumeliose non scribet. Et tamen scribendum est. Nam is est pastus hodiernorum ingeniorum. Aliter homines quiescere non possunt....

Nihil enim est quod avidum lectorem magis invitet quam inopinatum argumentum. Ecquod magis inopinatum quam ex heroibus mancipia concinnare, ex illustribus sartores?...Sed hic est saeculi morbus. Neque mirum est mundum in tanto senio delirare.

Reader, then an unlook'd for *subject*. And what more unlook'd for, then to see a person of an unblam'd life, made ridiculous, or odious, by the Artifice of lying? but it is the disease of the Age: and no wonder if the world, growing old, begin to be infirme: Old age it selfe is a disease. It is long since the sick world began to doate, and talke idly: Would she had but doated still; but her dotage is now broke forth into a madnesse, and become a meere phrency.

Discoveries, Folio, pp. 91–2.

Senectus ipsa morbus est: et diu est cum mundus aeger coepit desipere et loqui aliena. Atque utinam hactenus delirasset. Sed dementia in atram bilem erupit, et vanas imagines accepit: iam vera φρενῖτις facta est.

Opuscula, pp. 419–422.

In the main the 'Epidemicall Infection' repeats itself: only two points call for comment. There is a curious misquotation in Jonson's 'placet,' but the sense requires us to retain it. Secondly, the one inserted touch—the 'refluxe to his peculiar Notion of the Times'—is the reference to *poets* as the special victims of the low esteem in which the age holds literature. 'Thou call'st me *Poet*, as a terme of shame' he had written in the epigram 'To my lord Ignorant,' and the grievance recurs.

I take next a cento, the primary source of which is Claude Mignault's commentary on Alciati's *Emblems*. This forgotten scholar, a person of importance in his day, was born near Dijon about 1536, and died in 1606. In 1573 he edited Alciati with explanatory notes elucidating the sources and themes of the emblems. The book was very successful, and editions followed rapidly to the end of the seventeenth century. I quote from a revised edition of 1577 with the title *Omnia Andreae Alciati V. C. Emblemata: Cum Commentariis, quibus Emblematum omnium aperta origine, mens auctoris explicatur, et obscura omnia dubiaque illustrantur: Per Claudium Minoem Diuionensem. Antverpiae, Ex officina Christophori Plantini, Architypographi Regij. M.D.LXXVII. Cum privilegio.* 'Silentium' is the theme of the eleventh emblem, in which a philosopher, supposed to be Pythagoras, is depicted with finger on lip, studying. Alciati's verses are:—

Cum tacet, haud quicquam differt sapientibus amens:
Stultitiae est index linguaque voxque suae.
Ergo premat labia, digitoque silentia signet,
Et sese Pharium vertat in Harpocratem.

A *wise tongue* should not be licentious, and wandring; but mov'd, and (as it were) govern'd with certaine raines from the heart, and bottome of the brest: and it was excellently said of that Philosopher;

Linguam autem debere aiunt non esse liberam nec vagam, sed vinculis de pectore imo ac de corde aptis moveri et quasi gubernari. Sed enim videas quosdam sic scatere verbis sine ullo

that there was a Wall, or Parapet of teeth set in our mouth, to restraine the petulancy of our words: that the rashnesse of talking should not only bee retarded by the guard, and watch of the heart; but be fenced in, and defended by certaine strengths, placed in the mouth it selfe, and within the lips. But you shall see some, so abound with words without any seasoning or taste of matter, in so profound a security, as while they are speaking, for the most part, they confesse to speake they know not what.

Of the two (if either were to bee wisht) I would rather have a plaine downe-right wisdome, then a foolish and affected eloquence. For what is so furious, and *Bet'lem* like, as a vaine sound of chosen and excellent words, without any subject of *sentence*, or *science* mix'd?

Whom the disease of talking still once possesseth, hee can never hold his peace. Nay, rather then hee will not discourse, hee will hire men to heare him. And so heard, not hearkn'd unto, hee comes off most times like a *Mountebanke*, that when hee hath prais'd his med'cines, finds none will take them, or trust him. Hee is like Homers *Thersites*. Ἀμετροεπὴς, Ἀκριτόμυθος: speaking without judgement, *Loquax magis, quàm facundus. Satis loquentiæ, sapientiæ parum.*

Γλώσσης τοι θησαυρὸς ἐν ἀνθρώποιον[1] ἄριστος
Φειδωλῆς πλείστη δὲ χάρις κατὰ μέτρον ἰούσης.
Optimus est homini linguæ thesaurus, & ingens
Gratia, quæ parcis mensurat singula verbis.

Vlysses in *Homer*, is made a long thinking man before hee speaks; and *Epaminondas* is celebrated by *Pindar*, to be a man, that though he knew much, yet hee spoke but little. *Demacatus*[2], when on the Bench he was long silent, and said nothing; one asking him, if it were folly in him, or want of language? hee answer'd: *A foole could never hold his peace.* For too much talking is ever the *Indice* of a foole.

Dum tacet indoctus, poterit cordatus haberi;
Is morbos animi namque tacendo tegit.

iudicii negotio cum securitate multa et profunda, ut loquentes plerumque videantur loqui sese nescire. Ulyssem contra Homerus, virum sapienti facundia praeditum, vocem mittere ait non ex ore sed ex pectore: quod scilicet non ad sonum magis habitumque vocis quam ad sententiarum penitus conceptarum altitudinem pertineret: petulantiaeque verborum coercendae vallum esse oppositum dentium luculente dixit, ut loquendi temeritas non cordis tantum custodia atque vigilia cohibeatur, sed et quibusdam quasi excubiis in ore positis saepiatur.

AULUS GELLIUS, I, xv, 1–3.

...Quorum si alterum sit optandum, malim equidem indisertam prudentiam quam stultitiam loquacem.—Quid est enim tam furiosum quam verborum vel optimorum atque ornatissimorum sonitus inanis, nulla subiecta sententia nec scientia?

CICERO, *De Oratore* III § 142, and I § 51.

Nunquam, inquit [Cato], tacet quem morbus tenet loquendi.... Ita est cupidus orationis ut conducat qui auscultet: itaque auditis, non auscultatis, tanquam pharmacopolam: nam eius verba audiuntur, verum ei nemo se committit si aeger est.

AULUS GELLIUS, *l. c.* § 9.

(The reference to Homer, and the quotations from Sallust, *Catiline*, 5, and Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 717–718, follow in Gellius.)

Ulyssi grandem et vehementem, sed diu tamen cogitabundum facit [Homerus], antequam loqui incipiat.... Merito apud Pindarum celebris habetur Thebanus Epaminondas, qui quamquam multa sciret pauca tamen loquebatur.... Demaratus cum in consessu quodam sileret, rogatus an id faceret stultitia an sermonis inopia? Atqui, inquit, stultus nunquam tacere potest.

MIGNAULT, pp. 90–91.

Stultitiae est index linguaque voxque suae. ALCIATI.

Id expressum est ἐκ τοῦ Παλλαδᾶ,

[1] Read ἀνθρώποισιν.
[2] So in the Folio: first corrected by Dr E. A. Abbott, *Shakespearian Grammar*, § 242.

1. Anthologiae Graecorum epigrammatum :

πᾶς τις ἀπαίδευτος φρονιμώτατός ἐστι σιωπῶν,
τὸν λόγον ἐγκρύπτων ὡς πάθος αἰσχρότατον. [*Anthol. Graec.*, x, 98.]

Dum tacet indoctus, poterit cordatus haberi :
Is morbos animi namque tacendo tegit.

MIGNAULT, p. 90.

Nor is that worthy speech of *Zeno*, the Philosopher, to be past over, without the note of ignorance : who being invited to a feast in *Athens*, where a great Princes Ambassadours were entertain'd, and was the onely person had said nothing at the table ; one of them with courtesie asked him ; What shall we returne from thee, *Zeno*, to the Prince our Master, if hee aske us of thee? Nothing, he replyed, more, but that you found an old man in *Athens*, that knew to be silent amongst his cups. It was nere a Miracle, to see an old man silent; since talking is the disease of Age : but amongst cups makes it fully a wonder.

It was wittily said upon one, that was taken for a great, and grave man, so long as hee held his peace : This man might have beene a Counsellor of *State* till he spoke : But having spoken, not the Beadle of the Ward. Ἐχεμυθία, Pythag. *quàm laudabilis*! γλωσσῆς πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων κράτει, θεοῖς ἑπόμενος. *Linguam cohibe, præ aliis omnibus, ad Deorum exemplum, Digito compesce labellum.*

Folio, pp. 92–3.

Non possum transilire absque piaculo auream Zenonis vocem qui Athenis exceptus a quodam Principe una cum regiis oratoribus...solus nihil dicebat. Itaque comiter a legatis appellatus : De te vero, Zeno (inquiunt illi), quidnam sumus nostro Principi renunciaturi? Nihil, inquit, aliud quam Athenis esse senem qui tacere sciat inter pocula. Quod non simpliciter dignum laude habitum est. Magnum enim est senem taciturnum esse, cum ea aetas sit admodum garrula : fortasse maius quod inter pocula.... Itaque olim dictum est in nescio quem qui quamdiu siluit tamdiu magnus et gravis habitus est : Philosophus hic videri poterat, si tacuisset.

MIGNAULT, p. 91.

Proinde ut laudatur ἐχεμυθία Pythagorica.

MIGNAULT, p. 90.

An interesting textual point is settled by the quotation from Mignault. Pindar, who died in 443 B.C., could not have celebrated Epaminondas, who was a man of mark in 379 B.C. and died in 362 B.C. Professor Lamberton, quoted by Schelling, corrected 'Pindar' to 'Spinthar' from the reference in Plutarch's *De Genio Socratis*, 23, which is the source of the allusion : 'Spintharus of Tarentum' is there quoted as in the habit of saying that 'no man whom he ever met knew more or spoke less' than Epaminondas. But historical accuracy must not be imported into Jonson's text in this way ; he copied Mignault's blunder!

Another case of uncritical borrowing occurs in the curious note on painters and painting (Folio, pp. 112–113), which begins by weaving together quotations from Plutarch, Philostratus, and Quintilian, and finally settles down to the *Bibliotheca Selecta Qua agitur De Ratione Studiorum* of the Jesuit Antonio Possevino, published at Rome in

1593. Possevino (1534–1611) was a noted diplomatist for the Papacy, and travelled widely on political missions. But for twenty years of a busy life he worked at the *Bibliotheca,* a kind of *catalogue raisonné* of the chief authorities to study in all the arts and sciences. For a Jesuit, his range is fairly wide outside purely clerical circles. Jonson's indebtedness is shown in the following fragmentary extract.

Picture tooke her faining from *Poetry*: from *Geometry* her rule, compasse, lines, proportion, and the whole *Symmetry*. *Parrhasius* was the first wan reputation, by adding *Symmetry* to Picture: hee added subtilty to the countenance, elegancy to the haire, love-lines to the face; and, by the publike voice of all Artificers, deserved honour in the outer lines. *Eupompus* gave it splendor by numbers, and other elegancies. From the *Opticks* it drew reasons; by which it considered, how things plac'd at distance, and a farre off, should appeare lesse: how above, or beneath the head, should deceive the eye, &c. So from thence it tooke shadowes, recessor, light, and heightnings. From morall *Philosophy* it tooke the soule, the expression of Senses, Perturbations, Manners, when they would paint an angry person, a proud, an inconstant, an ambitious, a brave, a magnanimous, a just, a mercifull, a compassionate, an humble, a dejected, a base, and the like. They made all heightnings bright, all shadowes darke, all swellings from a plane; all solids from breaking.

Folio, pp. 112–113.

Ab Arithmetica tamen, ac Geometria, quin et ab Optica magnas accipit Pictura commoditates, a Geometria regulam, circinum, lineas, proportiones, ac siqua huiusmodi sunt alia, quibus symmetriam statuat. Nam et Parrhasius...magnam consecutus est laudem quod primus Symmetriam picturae dederit, primus argutias vultus, elegantiam capilli, venustatem oris, confessione artificum (ut inquit Plinius) in lineis extremis palmam adeptus....

At et Eupompus, quoniam omnibus litteris fuerat eruditus (praecipue Arithmeticae et Geometriae), summus in hac arte evasit, ac sine eis eam perfici non posse ostendit; is autem fuit qui Picturam antea bipartitam in duo genera Helladicum et Asiaticum, divisit in tria, Ionicum, Sicyonium, Atticum.

Sane vero cum Pictura utatur optica ratiocinatione, manu, atque coloribus, ab optica rationes sumit, quibus consideret quo modo quae longius absunt minora appareant, quae supra caput picti, quae infra, minora: quae supra, distantia; sublata in altum, quae infra oculum et quadrata; quomodo aciem oculorum fallant; umbras vero, recessus, lucem, radios perpendit....

Ex omni autem philosophia, sed praecipue ex morali, praesidium Pictori accersendum est, cum animum pingere, ac sensus omnes exprimere, et perturbationes, atque alias animi affectiones summam Picturae conciliet laudem. Nam hunc varium, iracundum, iustum, inconstantem, eundem execrabilem, clementem, dulcem, misericordem, excelsum, gloriosum, humilem, ferocem, fugacem non nisi ingenii est, quique id consequi possit, de quo ait Horat.

Omne tulit punctum, qui miscuit utile dulci.....

Plinius...addidit omnes qui volunt eminentius videri, candicantia faciunt, coloreque condiunt nigro, magna prorsus in aequo extantia ostendentes, et in confracto solida omnia.

Bibliotheca Selecta, Bk xvii, ch. 23 and 25.

Jonson does not appear to have understood his authority, and the subject was evidently beyond his range. Till I discovered the reference in Possevino, I was hopelessly puzzled by the statement that Eupompus gave splendour to art 'by numbers.' We have to remember that Jonson did not live to edit the *Discoveries* himself. These notes on painting are desultory jottings which he may have meant to work up later or which he merely noted for his personal use and did not intend to publish. The editor of the 1640 Folio (probably Sir Kenelm Digby) no doubt raked together all the scraps he could find. For instance, the last sentence quoted above is a crude fragment from Possevino's summary of the thirty-fifth book of Pliny.

Jonson concludes this notice with the statement, 'There liv'd in this latter Age six famous Painters in *Italy*: who were excellent, and emulous of the Ancients: *Raphael de Vrbino, Michel Angelo Buonarota, Titian, Antonie of Correggio, Sebastian of Venice, Iulio Romano,* and *Andrea Sartorio.*' This is Possevino's list. He cites among his authorities on painting Giovanni Battista Armenini's *De' Veri Precetti della Pittura* (Ravenna, 1586), and notes 'Ceterum primo libro disserit de sex Pictoribus eximiis huius saeculi, Raphaele Urbinate, Michaele Angelo Bonarota, Titiano Antonio Corrigiensi (*sic*), Sebastiano Veneto, Iulio Romano, Andrea Sartorio.' There are seven names here (was the missing comma after 'Titiano' responsible for the slip?), but Jonson copies the 'six.' Access to the original authority disposes of another of Professor Schelling's corrections, '[del] Sarto' for 'Sartorio.' Jonson mistook the ablative of the Latin adjective for an Italian name. Evidently he did not follow his monitor's advice to look up Armenini.

It is tempting to pursue these by-paths further, but systematic exploration must be reserved for a commentary. All that I can now attempt in my limited space is to indicate, by reference rather than by quotation—for I should not know where to stop—Jonson's debt to the great humanist, Johannes Ludovicus Vives. The 'learned Spaniard,' as Mulcaster called him, is for us an important figure. He was born at Valencia in 1492, studied at Paris, and became a professor at Louvain. He was a friend of Erasmus, for whom he edited the *De Civitate Dei*, and of More, who introduced him to the English court. For a time he lectured at Oxford. Catherine of Aragon became his patroness, and he was appointed tutor to her daughter, afterwards Queen Mary. Losing Henry's favour, he retired to Bruges, where he died in 1540. He brought his wide and varied experience as a teacher to bear on educational problems, and he is the pioneer of educationalists in

England. Long before Locke, he urged the necessity of considering diversity of temperament as a factor in educational results. Three passages of the *Discoveries* are translated from Vives. The section on good counsel (Folio, p. 88) beginning 'In being able to counsell others, a Man must be furnish'd with an universall store in himselfe,' and the four following paragraphs, concluding with an anecdote of Alexander the Great, are from Vives' *De Consultatione* (written at Oxford 1523), to be found in Vol. II, pp. 244–248 of Majan's valuable edition. This section contains the fine dictum:—'*Wisedome* without *Honesty* is meere craft, and coosinage. And therefore the reputation of *Honesty* must first be gotten; which cannot be, but by living well. A good life is a maine Argument.' Following closely on this (Folio, p. 89) is a section entitled 'Non nimium credendum antiquitati,' four paragraphs, beginning 'I know *Nothing* can conduce more to letters,' and ending 'The mind of man is still fed with labour: *Opere pascitur*'; this is from the *In Libros de Disciplinis Praefatio*, running on to the opening paragraph of the important treatise *De Causis Corruptarum Artium*, Vol. VI, pp. 5–9, ed. Majan. Finally, a long and elaborate passage of literary criticism occupying more than three pages of the Folio (pp. 118–121), beginning '*Speech* is the only benefit, man hath to expresse his excellencie of mind,' is pieced together and condensed from the *De Ratione Dicendi* (written at Bruges 1532), Vol. II, pp. 93–134, Majan. To examine these borrowings and note the touches of adaptation or insertion by which Jonson reset them for the benefit of his own immediate contemporaries is not possible here. But no critical estimate of Jonson can afford to overlook the second of these transcribed passages. That Jonson should borrow from Vives at all is a highly significant fact. It is still too much the fashion to look upon Ben with benignant pity as a labouring pedant blinded and obsessed by a classicism which proved the ruin of his art. This excerpt from the anti-Aristotelian Vives should at least be imputed to him for righteousness[1]. Vives has just been saying that in the course of his work he will have to argue against old and received writers, among them Aristotle, 'cuius ego in humanis artibus ingenium industriam diligentiam iudicium unice praeter caeteros et admiror et suspicio'; he deprecates therefore any charge of ingratitude or reckless judgement.

[1] Compare Jonson's comment in reference to Bacon (p. 121)—'Nothing is more ridiculous, then to make an Author a *Dictator*, as the schooles have done *Aristotle*. The dammage is infinite, knowledge receives by it....Let *Aristotle*, and others have their dues; but if wee can make farther Discoveries of truth and fitnesse then they, why are we envied?'

I know *Nothing* can conduce more to letters, then to examine the writings of the *Ancients*, and not to rest in their sole Authority, or take all upon trust from them; provided the plagues of *Iudging*, and *Pronouncing* against them, be away; such as are *envy*, *bitternesse*, *precipitation*, *impudence*, and *scurrile scoffing*. For to all the observations of the *Ancients*, wee have our owne experience: which, if wee will use, and apply, wee have better meanes to pronounce. It is true they open'd the gates, and made the way that went before us; but as Guides, not Commanders: *Non Domini nostri, sed Duces fuêre*. Truth lyes open to all; it is no mans *severall*. *Patet omnibus veritas, nondum est occupata. Multum ex illâ, etiam futuris relicta est*[1].

Folio, p. 89.

Porro de scriptis magnorum auctorum existimare multo est litteris conducibilius quam auctoritate sola acquiescere et fide semper aliena accipere omnia, absint modo iudicandi et pronuntiandi pestes, livor, acerbitas, praecipitatio, impudentia et dicacitas scurrilis.... Quantum enim ad disciplinas percipiendas omnes aditum nobis inventa superiorum saeculorum aperiunt, et experientia tam diuturna? ut appareat posse nos...melius in universum pronuntiare de rebus vitae ac naturae quam Aristotelem, Platonem, aut quemquam antiquorum,...ut Seneca sapienter dicit, *Qui ante nos ista moverunt, non domini nostri sed duces sunt*: patet omnibus veritas, nondum est occupata: multum ex illa etiam futuris relictum est[2].

Praefatio, Vol. VI, pp. 6–7.

That Jonson should have transferred this passage to his note-books is surely suggestive. With all his admiration for the ancients, he kept a certain critical balance. He paid them the guarded worship which he would himself have described as being 'on this side idolatry.' We find this attitude influencing even his technique in such points as the 'unities' of place and time, which he treated inconsistently. In *Every Man in his Humour*, the play which appears in the forefront of his works, the unity of time is insisted upon with a pertinacity which is almost comic; the clock ticks audibly in every act. But in other plays he abandons this without any hesitation. Unity of place triumphs brilliantly in *The Alchemist*; he rejects it in his two Roman tragedies. Not dissimilar is his treatment of the 'humours,' with their curious ebb and flow from play to play. It would be a nice point to decide how far, in the actual practice of his art, he was consciously influenced by the judgement and authority of Vives.

PERCY SIMPSON.

[1] So in the Folio, and Gifford, the classical Gifford, reprints it. He could not have looked at the proofs here.

[2] Quoted from Seneca, *Epist.* 33 ad fin.

AN ANGLO-NORMAN CALENDAR.

The Chapter Library of Worcester Cathedral, which contains this calendar, offers little else of interest to the Romance philologist. The quarto MS. numbered 35 has as its initial and end leaves a folio leaf from some other manuscript which has been bound in with the cover and contains a fragment of an exposition of the Decalogue, in a fourteenth-century hand, while folio 157 contains a similar fly-leaf with a series of prescriptions in French verse; these latter are printed in the Appendix to the recently published catalogue. The following calendar is from the quarto manuscript no. 61, which is catalogued as containing 'Manuale sacerdotum; Postilla de solempnitatibus sanctorum per annum; Versus de diebus faustis et infaustis Gallice; Pars Pentateuchi cum prologis Hieronymi.' The calendar is written in a good thirteenth-century hand in double columns on fol. 42 verso to fol. 45 recto. The handwriting, at first comparatively small, increases in size during the second column, and from the third column onwards is nearly twice as large as in the initial lines: the process of transition is clearly perceptible and there is no reason to suspect that a second scribe took up the work at column 3. The last line is followed by these words (I have extended the contractions, but made no other change); 'Sces sunt le merueiles que nostre seignor mustra a estre le prophetie que il les mustra as frz ysrl. Si en la premere nuit de noel seient grans venz oiez en icel an perirunt le reis e les (reis *erased*) e les eueskes. Si en la secude: les nient acceptables baruns defauderunt. Si en la ters: les orphanins e les femmes murrunt. Si en la quart: pain ne abundera mie. Si en la quinte: les enginus perirunt.' This ends the first column on fol. 45 r°. The second column opens with an alphabet written for practice and some Latin prayers in a very clumsy hand.

I have been unable to discover any other calendar of the kind. A Provençal calendar dealing with the question of blood-letting to which

the Worcester calendar constantly refers, is published in Suchier's *Denkmäler*, p. 518, but has no affinity with the following text.

The text is an exact copy of the MS. and the few corrections introduced are indicated where they occur. I have made no attempt to normalise discrepancies of orthography or of declension (e.g. *li malades* in l. 21 and *li malade* in l. 64), or to amend the metre which displays the irregularities usual in Anglo-Norman texts. The want of rime correspondence in l. 120–1, 264–5, 304–5 may be due to lacunæ.

The new catalogue states that 'an English version of these lines is to be found in *Chronica de Hayles et Aberconwey*, Harl. MS. 3725, beginning,

> The first day of the mone Adam
> Owre forefader to the world came;
> That day ye may with wynne
> Al gode thingys to begynne.'

The chronicle is printed in vol. I. (1847) of the *Camden Miscellany*, but the poem appears never to have been printed. I have a copy which is at the service of anyone who may care to make use of it. It is rather a paraphrase than a translation and is certainly not based upon the following text, containing as it does 1282 lines and giving names and events not to be found in the Anglo-Norman text.

A prime lune fud Adam furme, [fol. 42 v° col. 1]
Adam de ki nus fumes ne:
cest jur est bon a cumencer
chose que lem volt ben achever;
le enfaunt qui naistra cel jur
vivera a mult grant honur;
ki a cest jur amaladira
a peines en eschapera;
la visiun que lem verra
a grant joie li turnera;
devaunt terce li estuvra seigner
celui qui en avera mester.
De la lune le secund jur
est bon a cumencer labur;
a cest jur de la coste Adam
furma deus sa mulier Evam:
a cest jur fet bon a espuser;
nuls ne poet larcine celer;

le enfaunt qui cel jur ert ne
serra sages e benure;
li malades se cuchera,
en poi de tens repassera;
de sunge ja faces cunte
kar il a nule rien ne amunte;
qui de seigner avera a fere
devaunt terce restuvera trere.
Al ters lune ert Chaym nez;
de cure cumencer vus tenez
ne entrez en vile pur maindre;
de achat jà nert tun chatel greindre;
ne cumencez guainer en tere
ke ne purrez rein cunquere;
larcin ne se purra celer
ke lem ne purra tost trover;
qui a cest jur cherra en langur
il en murra al chief de tur;
li enfaunt qui a cest jur neistra
est cuintos e si murra
de male mort u a peine
eschapera; ceo est chose veine [col. 2]
ke hum veit [MS. vert] en avisiun;
la seigne ne est si male nun.
Abel fu nez a la quarte lune;
icest jur est bein cummune;
li enfaunt qui nestra cel jur
merra sa vie en grant labur,
ore lecheres ert e suffrera
grant peines dunt eschapera,
mes a sa fin riches murra;
ki a cest jur amaladira
ne garra se il ne chaunge place;
ne neez pour ke mal vus face
ke verrez en avisiun;
la seigne ne est si male nun.
A la quinte lune fist Abel
sun sacrifice del aignel:
ne faces serement le jur;
le enfaunt ne nest fors a tristur

ki a cest jur serra ne,
travale serra del mal fe
e a grant peine vivera;
ki a cest jur fuie prendera
serra trove mort hu lie;
li malade ert tost sane;
que tu sunges tut vendra;
tun cunseil ne descuverez ja;
devaunt terce te fai seigner
si tu veiz qu'il te feit mester.
De la lune la sime jur
nasquist Eufrates e Nabur;
icest jur fet bon chacier
et gentil oisel afeiter;
li enfaunt qui nestra cel jur
ert vistes e de grant vigur,
grauns et herdis e cointes mult;
perduz serrat tut del but
chose que serra emble le jur,
et ki charrat en langur
il languira mult lungement [fol. 43 r° col. 1]
et pus garra tut certement;
tavendera ke tu sungeras,
mes gard ke nel diez pas
fors a deu; a lui te rend
et la seigne te defend.
A la setime lune fu ocis
Abel ki taunt fu deu amis;
bon fet bestes a daunter
et tutes bestes demadler;
vigrus ert ki dunc naistra
e cointes e lettres sera;
le larcin est mut tost seu,
et par medecine avera salu
ki dunc amaladira;
le sunge a mut tart savra;
a tel lune fet bon seigner
et de tuz malz mesciner.
A la utime lune fu [MS. refu] ne
qui taunt vesqui Matussale;

aicest jur fet bon semer
et de lur luis remuer;
nobles pur veirs ert ki dunc ert ne,
mes tempte ert del malfe;
a peine ert trove larcin;
li malades prendra tost fin
u girra lunges en langur
si en murra al chief de tur;
li sunges ert tot aempli,
mes criez mult a deu merci
si veis ren dunt aies pour
e te seignez dreit a mi jur.
A la noesime lune comences
hardiement coe ke voles;
lenfaunt ki neistra le jur
avera de tute gent lamur
et sages ert e cuintes asez;
li larcin ert tost trove [col. 2]
et li malade tost garre;
dedenz dusze jurs savrez
la visiun ke vus verrez;
icel jur mes ne vus seignez.
A la disme lune fu nez
cil ki en le arche fu veez;
seurement enprenc labur;
lenfaunt ki nestra le jur
ert nunchalus e ne vivera
guer de tens, mes il serra
amiables; e ki fuera
a cest jur u riens emblera
lung tens apres serra cele,
mes a la fin serra trove;
tost prendera fin la maladie
u a la mort u a la vie;
ne vus seit rien de la visiun;
la seigne ne est si male nun.
Sem fu nez le unzime jur;
tut a seur oeverez icest jur;
lenfaunt ki dunc neistera
amiables e pruz serra,

sages e cuintes de ses diz,
pruz e curteis e hardiz;
li malades ne murra pas
einz guarra ignele pas
u apres avera un grant langur;
la visiun le quart jur
sauns peril se demustrera,
mes li sages le celera
et ja ne lerra de deu prier;
trestut cel jur fet bon seigner.
Aaym nasqui le duzime jur;
cel jur est bon a labur;
lenfaunt ert bon e amiables,
de sun curage ert mult estables;
li futif tost repeirera [fol. 43 v° col. 1]
hu jammes ne revendra;
li larcin ert tost trove;
li sunges ert bien fine
dedens .viii. jurs a joie grant;
seignez vus dunc al vesprant.
A la terszime lune plaunta
Noe le vin dunt il seignura;
aidunc fet bon laburer;
lenfaunt fel ert e paltuner,
mes asez avera hardement
et ne vivera pas lungement;
li malade mult languira
et a peine en eschapera;
dedeins quatorze jurs verrez
ceo que vus dunc sungerez,
mes demenez vus sagement;
cel jur seignez hardiement.
A la quatorze lunaisun
dona Noe sa benecun
a Sem sun fiz; dunc cummencez
hardiement quant ke vus volez;
li enfaunt ert marchaunt
et orgulus et cumbataunt
et si nert pas grant loez;
li larcin ert tost trovez

li malade tost guarra
et si nun tost murra;
a grant joie le terszime jur
verra sun sunge li sungur;
nule ne deit le jur seigner;
ja ne ert si grant mester.
A la quinzime luneisun
fu fet la confusiun
des angles de cel qui la tur
Babel firent a icel jur;
ne deit nuls oevre cummencer
ne testimonie nul porter [col. 2]
lenfaunt qui cel jur naistra
de arme hu de eive perira
et murra asez [MS. aset] de iefne age,
mes cointes serra e mult sage,
deboneres et herbigur;
li malades apres le terz jur
se [MS. ke] levra e si ceo nun
ja ne trerra a gareisun;
li larcin ert tost trovez;
icel jur matin vus seignez.
Aa lune iert el seszime jur
quant Loth nasqui; checun labur
cummencez dunc pur estre estable;
il enfaunt ert cheritable,
monges [MS. veiuges] de queor et entrin,
mes poures serra a la fin;
li malade mult languira
et a grant peine eschapa,
mes guarri pur sul s'enturne
del liu dunt il dunc sujurne;
la visiun bien saveras
et ja de rien ne fauderas,
tun sunge jeiras pus lung tens;
a cel jur seignez vus par tens.
Al diszesetime jur perirent
les cites qui bien deservirent
la dampnedeu maleicun,
Sodome e Gomorre urent nun;

nul jur nest meilur a eovrer
et bone eovreine a cummencer;
lenfaunt ki nestra le jur
avera peine e grant labur,
mes cortes ert et amiables
sages e a plusurs profitables;
li larcin ert mult tost trove
et li malade mult travaile [MS. trauile],
mes a la fin eschapera; [fol. 44 r° col. 1]
dedenz .viii. jurs se averra
la visiun que vus verrez;
a cel jur mar vus seignez.
Al disutime jur nasqui
Isaac le deu ami;
cel jur est profitable asez;
lenfaunt qui dunc serra neez
navra ja peis taunt ert parlers
et poi vivera mes il ert fers;
len i trovera le larcin;
la maladie avra tost fin
e si il entre en langur
il en garra al chef de tur;
al diszime hu al vintisme jur
verrunt lur sunge li sungur
desque al vintisme sanz demure;
seigner te deiz [MS. derz] dreit a terz hure.
Jacob fud de Ysaac engendre
quant le diszenefime ert entre;
cel jur est bon a cure fere
lenfaunt iert de grant afere,
curteis, leals, de grant saver
et tut tens crestra en aver;
li larcin serra cele,
e li malades ert sane
per medecine que heom lui fra;
devaunt le terz jur savra
hoem en bien sa visiun;
le seigner est destructiun.
Le vintisme jur benesqui
Ysaac Jacob le deu ami;

en vein travailerez le jur;
lenfaunt i ert travailur
et cointes asez et lettre;
li futif serra morz trove
li larcin ert descuvert.
Le vintisme premer jur fu [col. 2]
quant sa benecun dona
Ysaac a Esau sun fiz;
cest jur est a cure esliz;
fort leials ert ki naistera
a cel jur; lettres sera,
mes ne pur quant il ert pituz;
perduz serra tut a estruz
quant que dunc i perderez;
li larcin nert ja trovez;
ki a cel jur amaladira
il lungement languira
hu il murra hastivement;
tut verrez avisablement
quant que dunc i sungeres;
a nul fe or dunc vus seignez.
Al vinterzime secund jur
nasqui Joseph; il nest labur
que dunc fet bon a cumencer
for sul de gens a reacorder;
lenfaunt ert poure e mendis
et travailaunt et li futif
qui dunc fuera serra cunseu
et li larcin aparcu;
li malade avera grant langur
et si murra a chef de tur;
li sunge serra averrez
en idie que vus sungerez;
a tutes hures del jur
purras seigner a bon hur.
Ki voldra al vinteterszime jur
de femme prendre a bon hur
en quel curage ke il voldra
en prendre; et cil qui dunc nastra
serra cointes et vilein;

et li futif fuera en vein
kar il ert trove erraument ;
murrat u il lungement [fol. 44 v° col. 1]
girrat ains ke il ert garisun ;
tun sunge poez dire tun compainun,
si bel vus est bien descuverez;
dedeins uit jurs solt avenir
ceo que len sunge aicel jur ;
de seigner est dunc bon hur.
Ainz ke le vinte quart jur fini
nasqui Moyses le deus ami
cel jur est bon as vueranz ;
qui nestra dunc ert cumbataunz ;
li futif et li larcin
serrunt trove a la fin ;
li malades repassera
de grant langur u tost murra ;
si tu veis nul en avisiun
ele te permet salvatiun,
ja ne faudra que quel demure ;
seignez cel jur a siste hure.
Al vintequinte lunaisun
nasqui le fer rei Pharaun ;
cel jur est bon a venerie ;
qui naistra ert a tute sa vie
cuveitus e mult suffra
perils ; cil qui rien emblera
dedenz les treis jurs serra
descuvert ; cil qui en langur
cherra murra al chief de tur ;
dedenz uit jurs u quinze au plus
verrez tun sunge tut a estrus ;
al vespre se face dunc seigner
cil qui en avera le mester.
Al vintesime lunaisun
enveia deu a Pharaun
en Egipte par sun seriaunt
Moysen une plaie grant
kar tus les naia en la mer ;
cel jur est bon a overer ; [col. 2]

qui a cest jur nestra enfaunt
serrat meinement manaunt;
li futif e li larcin
serrunt trove; tost prendra fin
qui dunc entrat en maladie
u a la mort u a la vie;
del avisiun vendra joie,
mes gard sei checun ke nen oie
les cunseils de ses enemis,
mes a deu sert tut ententifs;
trestutes les hures de cel jur
purrez vus seigner sans pour.
Al vinte setime cumensa
al desert pluver le manna
dunt deu pust sun poeple jadis;
a cel jur pas ne seez udifs;
cuintes serra et amiables
li enfaunt et li mal salvables,
mes li malades ert turmente [MS. turmete];
li sunge solt estre averre
memes le jur quel quil seit
hu a grant joie hu a grant deheit;
cel jur se deit hume taunt seigner
et neint si lem nen at mester [MS. nert ni ester].
Le vinte utime fu a murre
quant i vindrent a dan Josue
les espiez [MS. espuz] de mescreanz
qui furent aidunc mananz
en tere de permissiun;
icest jur nest si bon nun
a tutes cures comencer;
lenfant purra mult laburer
e nunchalus serra de tut,
mes leals serra tut del but;
li malades sert a seur
de garisun a chef de tur
u sert tost u apres langur; [fol. 45 r° col. 1]
mar vus seignez a icel jur.
Bon est le vinte noefime jur
a cummencer checun labur;

lenfaunt ert mult beneure
et benignes et enseigne
et savra mult de marchandie;
la visiun ne signefie
si joie nun e grant leesse,
et la dolur e la tristesse
verrez tut a bien turner;
trestut cel jur fet bon seigner.
Nuls [MS. nvnls] ne deit [MS. dit] le trentezime jur
en prendre cure ne labur;
lenfan savra pur veir
tut quant ke il ....
li malade quant .....[1]
pres de la mort recuva;
li sunge serra averre
eins ke seient .viii. jurs passe
mes gart tei tut diz sagement
et la seignee te defent.

H. J. Chaytor.

[1] A small portion is here cut out of the MS.

NOTES ON THREE SONNETS ATTRIBUTED TO FRANCISCO DE FIGUEROA.

Little is known of the life of the poet, Francisco de Figueroa. He was born at Alcalá de Henáres, probably about the year 1536[1], he attended the University of Alcalá, and while still a youth, went to Italy. There he gained renown, not only by his studies, but also by his career in the army, as Lope de Vega wrote in his *Canción á las obras de Don Francisco de Figueroa*:

> A tí, del siglo solo
> Unica luz, que con espada y pluma
> Fuiste Marte y Apolo,
> El tiempo rinda inumerable suma
> De aplausos y laureles,
> Con que en sus alas inmortales vueles[2].

On August 20, 1560, he wrote a letter from Chartres to Ambrosio de Morales, in which he sends his best wishes to Antonio Perez, whom he no doubt knew at the University of Alcalá[3]. We do not know the date of his return to Spain, but on February 14, 1575, he married Doña María de Vargas, at Alcalá de Henáres[4]. In the year 1579, he accompanied D. Carlos de Aragon, first Duke of Terranova, to Flanders. He died at Alcalá sometime before the year 1618[5], and on his deathbed,

[1] Figueroa's sonnet on the death of Garcilaso de la Vega *el Mozo*, was probably written soon after the latter's death, in 1555. As it is likely that Figueroa was at least twenty years old when he wrote the poem, he must have been born before the year 1536. This sonnet was first published in the *Floresta de varia poesia* of Diego Ramirez Pagan, in 1562. See Ticknor, *Historia de la literatura española*, Vol. II, p. 494.

[2] *Rimas humanas*, Part II, in the *Biblioteca de Autores españoles*, Vol. XXXVII, p. 348.

[3] D. Martin Fernandez de Navarrete, *Vida de Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra*, Madrid, 1819, p. 568.

[4] See Mr Fitzmaurice-Kelly's note in the English translation of the *Galatea*, published at Glasgow in 1903, p. 288.

[5] The exact date of Figueroa's death is not known. In Lope de Vega's comedia, *Virtud, Pobreza y Mujer*, Act I, sc. iv, two of the characters lament the fact that Pedro Liñan and Pedro Lainez had been forgotten because their works had not been printed, and Hipólito adds that Figueroa had suffered the same fate:

ordered that all his poetry should be burned. Those poems which escaped the flames were published by the historian, Luis Tribaldos de Toledo, at Lisbon, in 1625[1]. A number of verses were added to the second edition which appeared at Lisbon, in 1626. Mr Archer M. Huntington published a reprint of this edition in 1903[2]. Another edition appeared at Madrid in 1785, edited by D. Ramon Fernández. This edition was based on the Lisbon edition of 1626, and is far from satisfactory. It was published again at Madrid in 1804, forming Volume XX of the *Coleccion de poetas españoles.*

Figueroa enjoyed the friendship of many of the most famous poets of his time. He used the poetical name of Tirsi in his sonnets, and with this name, he was introduced as one of the characters into the pastoral romance, *El Pastor de Filida* by Luis Gálvez de Montalvo[3]. The latter speaks of him as follows: 'Unas *Coplas* sé yo, dijo Pradelio, que hizo *Siralvo* a su Deseo, aprovadas por dos clarissimos ingenios, uno el culto *Tirsi*, que *de Engaños, i Desengaños de Amor* va alumbrando nuestra nacion Española, como singular maestro dellos[4].'

It is certain that the Tirsi of Cervantes' *Galatea*, is Figueroa, for in the second book, Cervantes ascribes to Tirsi, two sonnets and a *Canción* by Figueroa[5]. Lope de Vega praised him highly in his *Laurel de Apolo*, and according to La Barrera, he introduced him as the venerable Tirsi in his *Arcadia*[6]. He was mentioned with praise by many of his contemporaries, and his tender verses gained for him the title of 'el divino.'

The edition of Figueroa's poetry, published at Madrid, in 1785, contains 58 sonnets, besides a number of *estancias, elegías, sestinas* and *canciones.* This collection includes three sonnets, to the authorship of which Figueroa's claim is, at best, very doubtful. The first of these is Sonnet XXXII[7]:

Hoy Henáres lo lamenta
Del divino Figueroa.

Figueroa must have been dead when this play was written, and as Lope includes it in the list of his comedias published in *El Peregrino* in 1618, we must believe that Figueroa died before that date.

[1] Salvá, *Catálogo*, I, p. 228, also Gallardo, *Ensayo de una biblioteca*, Vol. II, Col. 1071.

[2] I have been able to examine Mr Huntington's reprint through the courtesy of the Yale University Library.

[3] See Mr Fitzmaurice-Kelly's introduction to the English version of Cervantes' *Galatea*. Glasgow, 1903, p. xxxi.

[4] *El Pastor de Filida*, compuesto por Luis Gálvez de Montalvo, Valencia, 1792, p. 154.

[5] See Mr Fitzmaurice-Kelly's introduction to the English translation of the *Galatea*, p. xxxi.

[6] *Nueva biografía de Lope de Vega*, p. 69.

[7] *Poesías de Francisco de Figueroa, llamado el Divino*, Madrid, 1785, p. 17.

Estos, y bien serán pasos cuitados
Quanto los dió jamás pie doloroso,
Que agora dexaré triste y penoso
Con mis amargas lagrimas regados:
Por los mas dulces me serán contados
De quantos en mi duro y trabajoso
Viage dado habré: breve reposo,
En vano procurando á mis cuidados.
No porque Amor, ó mi fortuna fiera
Alce de mí su mano ayrada y fuerte,
O ablande un punto la crueldad pasada:
Sino porque á morir parto, y la muerte
Tan cerca va, que á la primer jornada
La alcanzaré, ya que al partir no muera.

Lope de Vega, in his *Laurel de Apolo*[1], speaks as follows in praise of Marco Antonio de la Vega:

Pero ¿ quien se levanta revestido
De álamo blanco, y de laurel ceñido?
Parece al claro Henares caudaloso.
Oh rio venturoso!
Padre de ingenios célebres al mundo,
Que laurear solias
Tus doctos hijos los felices dias
Del siglo que jamás tendrá segundo
Cierto será que llega
A la voz de la fama sonorosa
Aquel ingenio, universal, profundo,
El docto Marco Antonio de la Vega,
Ilustre en verso y erudito en prosa,
Cuya pluma quejosa
Parece que hoy escribe en los cuidados
De su estilo amoroso:
'Estos, y bien serán pasos contados
Cual no los dió jamás pié doloroso.'

It will be noticed that these last two lines correspond closely to the first lines of the sonnet attributed to Francisco de Figueroa. Little is known of Marco Antonio de la Vega. Some of his verses are found in the *Cancionero General de la Doctrina Christiana*, of Juan López de Úbeda[2]. Cervantes praised him in the *Canto de Calíope*[3], but gives us no facts about him. Owing to our lack of information in regard to this poet, it is difficult to decide definitely as to the authorship of this sonnet. It was included in the editions of 1625 and 1626, of the works of Figueroa, which is a strong argument in favour of his authorship. However, the fact that Lope de Vega attributed the first two lines of it to Antonio de la Vega, in 1630, at least introduces an element of doubt into the matter.

[1] *Biblioteca de Autores españoles*, Vol. xxxviii, p. 201.
[2] Salvá, *Catálogo*, Vol. i, No. 1299.
[3] Sedano, *Parnaso Español*, Vol. viii, p. 294.

The second sonnet in question is found on page 66 of the edition of Madrid, 1785, of the *Obras de Francisco de Figueroa*:

En una selva al asomar del dia,
Estaba Endimion triste y lloroso
Contra el rayo del sol, que presuroso
Por la falda del monte descendia:
Mirando al turbador de su alegriá,
Contrario de su bien y su reposo,
Tras un suspiro triste y congojoso
Tales palabras contra el sol decia:
Luz clara, para mí triste y oscura,
Que con furioso curso apresurado,
Mi sol con tu tiniebla oscureciste;
Si te pueden mover en tal altura
Las quejas de un Pastor enamorado,
No tardes en volver á do saliste.

In the edition of Lisbon, 1626, of the works of Figueroa, this sonnet is preceded by the word, *ageno*, that is, the sonnet was the work of some other poet, and Figueroa merely glossed it in *lyras*, commencing,

Entre doradas flores.

We find this same sonnet published in the works of don Hernando de Acuña[1], which proves conclusively that he, not Figueroa, was the author of it. I copy it here, as it offers a few variants from the text as published in the works of Figueroa:

En una selva al parecer del dia
Se estaba Endimion triste y lloroso,
Vuelve al rayo del sol, que presuroso
De la cumbre de un monte decendia:
Mirando el turbador de su alegría,
Contrario de su bien y su reposo,
Tras un grave sospiro doloroso,
Tales palabras contra el sol decia:
Luz clara, para mí triste y escura,
Que con furioso curso apresurado,
Mi sol con tu tiniebla escureciste:
Si te pueden mover en tanta altura
Las quejas de un pastor apasionado
No tardes en volver donde salistes.

The third sonnet in question, is the *Epitafio á la muerte de Tirsi*[2]:

Crezca con el licor del llanto mio
La verde yerba de este fértil prado:
Enfrene el triste son de mi cuidado
El presuroso curso de este rio:
Resuene el bosque cavernoso y frio,
Ya es muerto Tirsi, Tirsi es ya acabado,
En el dolor terrible sepultado,

[1] *Varias poesias compuestas* por Don Hernando de Acuña, Madrid, 1804, p. 178.
[2] *Poesias de Francisco de Figueroa, llamado el Divino*, Madrid, 1785, p. 37.

Que tuvo de él entero señorío.
  Sola esta solitaria selva umbrosa,
Y aquesta tan gentil verde ribera
Del lamentable fin fuéron testigos.
  Aquí cerró sus ojos muerte fiera,
Y el miserable cuerpo aquí reposa,
Llorándole Damon su firme amigo.

This sonnet is not found in either of the early Lisbon editions of the works of Figueroa, and was first published by Sedano in his *Parnaso Español*[1]. We know that Figueroa's poetical name was Tirsi, and it is probable, that one of Figueroa's friends, under the name of Damon, wrote the above sonnet at the time of Figueroa's death. For this reason it was included in the manuscript collections of Figueroa's poetry, and later was published under his name.

J. P. Wickersham Crawford.

[1] Vol. iv, p. 89.

SHELLEY AND PEACOCK.

THE association of Shelley and Peacock, two very opposite characters, was more far reaching in its results than has generally been assumed. It was one of the most beneficial friendships ever made by the wayward enthusiast who, under Godwin's influence, 'took abstract reason for the rule of conduct, and abstract good for its end.' Still greater, however, was the lasting impression made by Shelley on the practical and common-sense Peacock. During the time that the friendship lasted—1812–1822—the latter produced three novels which all bear, more or less, the imprint of his intercourse with Shelley. This has already been mentioned in connection with *Nightmare Abbey* and *Melincourt*, but has escaped notice as regards *Headlong Hall*. It seems to the writer that the gist of the last-named novel—published in 1815—is clearly the outcome of its author's friendship with Shelley during that year. We know that he was in the habit of having animated discussions with his friend about this time. Trelawney mentions his reading the same books as Shelley, and having drawn entirely different conclusions from them, with the result that protracted conversation ensued which delighted Shelley, 'for he was imperturbable in argument.' As Harriet Shelley at the end of her life had no sympathy for her husband's literary pursuits, and laughed at the votaries of revolution, so we are informed by Medwin of her admirer Peacock having laughed at Shelley's projects for the regeneration of society and his unworldly simplicity and enthusiasm. The idea of the perfectibility of mankind, as particularly advocated by William Godwin in the *Political Justice* and *Enquirer*, was as much an integral part of Shelley's creed as that of Mr Foster, the perfectibilian of the novel. That these were his views can at once be gleaned by consulting his correspondence with Godwin. During the year 1815 Shelley and Peacock must again and again have discussed the question which so absorbed the former and which was regarded by the latter with a certain amount of scepticism and indifference. The poet Buchanan

tells us in his personal reminiscences of Peacock that 'the pessimism of his books was also the daily theme of his talk,' so it is only natural to conclude that he was loth to agree with his young friend's utopian schemes. Even if he had, like him, lost all reverence for many social institutions, he could never be beguiled by enthusiastic, and what he thought to be delusive, visions of a perfectibility that could never be realised. Peacock's sound and clear mind enabled him to see what Shelley never could, namely, that most of the agitators who were so anxious to ameliorate the condition of mankind were in truth using this pretext as a means of improving their own. Like Mr Escot—the deteriorationist of the novel—Peacock was never, at any period of his life, a genuine reformer. He had an utter disbelief in all the coming millenniums of justice and freedom which were then being so frequently proclaimed. He stood to Shelley in the same relation as the two principal characters in *Headlong Hall* stand to one another—he was as much a pessimist as the other an optimist. This difference between the ideas of Mr Escot and Mr Foster, or those of Peacock and Shelley, has been admirably expressed by the novelist in the memoir of his friend which he concludes, after having paid a glowing tribute to Shelley's abilities, by deploring his 'want of reality.' 'It would have given to his poetry the only element of truth which it wanted; though at the same time the more clear development of what men are would have lowered his estimate of what they might be and dimmed his enthusiastic prospect of the future destiny of the world.' If conversation then with Shelley supplied the main issue of the story, it may also be said that this is the case with some of the details. The introduction of the question of vegetarianism, for instance, plays upon Shelley's habit of abstaining from eating animal food. He had, some time before the publication of *Headlong Hall*, issued a booklet, now extremely rare, *A Vindication of Natural Diet*, the contents of which were also included in *Queen Mab* as one of a series of notes. Strangely enough Mr Escot, and not Mr Foster, is the advocate of vegetarianism in the novel.

To turn now to *Melincourt*, which appeared in 1817. The two friends were together during the whole of the time in which it was being written, with the result that the tale, like its predecessor, is the outcome of the constant intercommunication of ideas between them, but with a singular difference. The former divergences of opinion, so distinct in *Headlong Hall* as to necessitate their being attributed to two separate characters, are now incorporated in the one person of

Mr Forester, who is not, as has been suggested, only a portrait of Shelley, but also, in many of its phases, one of Peacock himself. His character and opinions show the intention of its originator to use fiction as a means of teaching the same lesson imparted by Shelley in the *Revolt of Islam* and the political pamphlets of the year of the production of *Melincourt*, which have been described by Buxton Forman as having been written 'to awaken the better classes of his countrymen and countrywomen from their apathy, and startle them into a moral and intellectual fermentation calculated to bring about reform in all departments—radical, sweeping, and conclusive.' Mr Forester resembles Shelley in that he is a philosopher and both Shelley and Peacock in that he is an unbeliever and reformer, although as regards the last respect his standpoint approaches nearer to that of Shelley than that of Peacock. The two pamphlets—*A Proposal for Putting Reform to the Vote throughout the Kingdom* and *An Address to the People on the Death of Princess Charlotte*—contain opinions identical with those of the hero of the novel. Further, the outline of Mr Forester's character presents a contrast to the general trend of Peacock's ideas, but corresponds with those of Shelley. Especially in connection with his broad and far-reaching views on reform generally, his self-denial and altruistic efforts, he is representative of the poet rather than the novelist. He is the author's tribute to the uprightness of character possessed by his younger contemporary. The account given by Mr Forester of his ideal of womanhood agrees with that of Shelley, and is particularly interesting, as the latter had about this time been drawn to Mary Godwin by the same attributes that are here described, and repelled from his first wife by the want of them. From this short comparison it follows that we have here, in many points, a picture of Shelley as he then was. It should not be forgotten that some of Mr Forester's opinions, which might at first sight be looked upon as being exclusively a reproduction of those of the author, were shared by Shelley. The latter was, like Peacock—to quote one instance—unable to grasp the economic changes brought about by the industrial development consequent upon the introduction of machinery. This attitude was, perhaps, in both cases due to Godwin, to whom Shelley at any rate was much indebted for many of his opinions and who found himself in the same difficulty. Here and there Mr Forester, however, exhibits a trait, discloses a habit, or is the exponent of an opinion peculiar to Peacock. One instance of this is his advocacy of the Anti-saccharine League.

which is simply the reproduction of an interesting episode in the author's own life. Far more noticeable, however, is the fact that Mr Forester is the representative of the deteriorationist views of Mr Escot of *Headlong Hall*, and thus of views held by Peacock and directly antagonistic to those of his friend. It is this attitude of Mr Forester that might induce one to think that Peacock intended in this character to impersonate himself.

The third novel, *Nightmare Abbey*, appeared in 1818 and was written in the ten or eleven months succeeding the publication of *Melincourt*. This novel contains the character of Scythrop which Shelley claimed, as its creator tells us, for himself. The enthusiasm of an idealist and reformer, devoted to the cause of agitating against many of the institutions which are generally acknowledged to be the foundation of social order, resulting from a hatred of government or aversion to Christianity, had already formed the butt of Peacock's satire in the first two novels. The latter was also partly convinced of the advisability of an alteration in some of the forms of society, but laughed at the vigorous attempt of an impetuous friend to put everything right at a moment's notice. Scythrop dotes 'on the practicability of reviving a confederation of regenerators,' and writes a treatise which does not meet with the success he had anticipated for it. In his disappointment at being informed by his publisher that only seven copies have been disposed of, he does not despair. 'Seven copies have been sold. Seven is a mystical number and the omen is good. Let me find the seven purchasers of my seven copies, and they shall be the seven gold candlesticks with which I will illuminate the world.' Obviously an allusion to the Dublin pamphlet *A Proposal for an Association of Philanthropists*, we have here the expression of resolute adhesion to a standpoint once taken up, and the sanguine belief in eventual success, so characteristic of Shelley. The following extract from one of his letters—written in an unusually disconsolate tone—may be quoted as showing how little the result of his strenuous efforts in Ireland corresponded with his expectations:—'The association proceeds slowly, and I fear will not be established. Prejudices are so violent, in contradiction to my principles, that more hate me as a freethinker than love me as a votary of freedom. I have at least made a stir here, and set some men's minds afloat. I may succeed, but I fear I shall not, in the main object of associations.' *Nightmare Abbey* is further noteworthy as containing many direct references to Shelley's life. Since there are allusions enough that cannot be mis-

taken, it is unnecessary to make any forced comparisons as, for instance, between Nightmare Abbey and Field Place or Christopher Glowry and Sir Timothy Shelley, even though in both cases points of resemblance are not altogether wanting. Very plain, and impossible to be overlooked, is the account of Shelley's education at Eton, 'a public school where a little learning was painfully beaten into him,' and Oxford, 'the University where it was carefully taken out of him.' As Shelley's engagement to his cousin Harriet Grove was abruptly broken off soon after his expulsion from Oxford, so that of Scythrop, after his quitting the University, with his cousin Emily Girouette, and in both cases the lady proceeds with all haste to marry another gentleman. Indeed, the material which constitutes the slight plot of the tale is nothing but a satire upon one of the most painful incidents in Shelley's career. The latter had, in the year preceding the publication of *Nightmare Abbey*, abandoned Harriet Westbrook for Mary Godwin, owing partly to the inability of his first wife to 'feel poetry and understand philosophy.' Peacock has made Scythrop's transference of affection from Marionetta to Stella due to an identical motive, and has described the two aspirants for his love in a manner that makes it easy to identify that they are intended for the two ladies between whom Shelley for a time, as Scythrop, 'was like a shuttlecock between two battledores, changing its direction as rapidly as the oscillations of a pendulum.' Gradually Scythrop's love for Marionetta appears as an illusion, his enthusiasm spends itself, as he recognises that she is only interested in trivial matters, and has no interest for his mental occupations, in the same way that Shelley turned from Harriet because, as Peacock states in his *Memoirs*, 'he had found in another the intellectual qualities which constituted his ideality of the partner of his life.' The attempt of Scythrop's father and uncle to prevent his marriage schemes irresistibly recall Shelley's belief in his father's and uncle's designs on his liberty, and very pointed, as Buchanan says, is the scene where the distracted Scythrop threatens his father to commit suicide. As the tale humourously ends with Scythrop being deserted by Marionetta and Stella, there is nothing offensive to propriety in the plot, which does not turn upon the infraction of any particular commandment as the development of the corresponding events in Shelley's life did, or as has been stated of Goethe's drama that deals with a similar problem, and which has supplied Miss Celinda Flosky in the novel with another name.

A. B. Young.

THE PHONETICAL EXPLANATIONS OF VERNER'S LAW.

An examination of the literature dealing with Verner's Law reveals many discrepancies of opinion in regard to its phonetical basis. Verner himself, as is well known, gave an explanation which led him to see in his law the effects of a stress-accent; and this became the common opinion, although it has met at least once, and quite recently, with direct contradiction. But even among those who uphold the stress theory, the explanations offered differ in various important details, some writers emphasizing points which are passed over in silence by others. Moreover, the attitude of different writers to the explanations seems often to be quite subjective. Thus the comparative confidence of Brugmann's statement[1]: 'dem verstärkten Luftstrom der haupttonigen Wortsilbe ist es zuzuschreiben, dass die stimmlosen Spiranten hinter dem Wortaccent stimmlos blieben' is in marked contrast to the more cautious assertion of Delbrück[2]: 'die Verwandlung der tonlosen Spirans in die tönende hängt also sicher mit dem Accent zusammen...und zwar *wahrscheinlich* [italics are mine] mit der Verwandlung eines überwiegend musikalischen in einen überwiegend exspiratorischen Accent.'

I propose in the present paper in the first place, to pass in review the various explanations of the law which have come under my notice, and to coordinate, as far as possible, those that appear correct. The various points of difference among writers on the subject have not yet been fully discussed in their relation to basic principles. Chronological order, it may be added, is not adhered to. In the second place, I would raise the question as to whether the phonetical explanation of Verner's Law is merely—as would seem to be generally held—a hypothesis, or whether it may be regarded as a verifiable deduction from historical facts.

[1] *Grundriss*, I², § 1037, Anmerkung.
[2] *Grundfragen der Sprachforschung*, p. 105.

The most recent attempt to explain Verner's Law is that put forth by H. Z. Kip[1]. This need not detain us long, as it is obvious that its author has completely failed to grasp the nature of the problem with which he deals. For Kip, the whole crux of the problem lies in the voicing of the originally voiceless aspirants, and his article is consequently devoted entirely to the explanation of this voicing. It is plain, however, that the real difficulty is not to explain why a large number of the spirants were voiced, but rather to explain why others were *not* voiced. An explanation which, like Kip's, is directed towards reconstructing conditions which are supposed to be specially favourable to the voicing process must necessarily be one-sided and inadequate.

It is a matter of experience that voiceless consonants standing between sonants frequently become voiced, and the accepted explanation of this phenomenon is that in such cases the process is to be regarded as a partial assimilation of the sounds in question. The voicing of the spirants under Verner's Law is plainly a particular instance of this very general phenomenon. That is, however, not a sufficient explanation in Kip's eyes. According to his view, the voicing of spirants occurring between sonants can only have taken place when *both* the sonants were accented. Thus, a hypothetical form *aþa* could only become *aða* when the original form was stressed on both syllables, in other words, had what is called 'level' stress. Such a theory is obviously contradicted by the later history of the Germanic dialects, in which voiceless spirants frequently become voiced between vowels under circumstances which completely preclude the idea of the presence of level stress. Apart from this, there is no evidence that a form *aþa* with equal stress on both syllables shows a tendency to become *aða*. In other words, it is a mere assumption on Kip's part that level stress *is* particularly favourable to voicing of consonants. The evidence of Modern English, in which level stress is common, seems rather to contradict this. We may therefore sum up Kip's phonetical (?) explanation of Verner's Law by saying, firstly, that it is unnecessary, because the particular phenomena to which he addresses himself had already been adequately explained; secondly, that it is incorrect, because the new factor he introduces does not exert the influence which he attributes to it. Since Kip's phonetical theory is false, it is not necessary to refute his equally untenable attempt to date the law in a hypothetical time of transition (subsequent to the period of the free accent in Germanic) when the tendency towards

[1] *Noch ein Wort über Germ.* f, þ, h, s > ƀ, ð, ȝ, z in *Mod. Lang. Notes*, xx, pp. 16 ff.

retracting the accent led, as he supposes, to forms with level stress (*faþér* > *fàþèr* > *faðer*). It may be mentioned, however, that even if we grant that level stress existed at this transition stage, it could still not be applied, as Kip desires, to explain the presence of the voiced consonant in many examples. Kip's theory, even if it were correct so far as phonetical principles are concerned, could not explain the voiced consonant in an example such as Gothic *bairada*, since he would have no means of showing that a level stress on the two final syllables of such a word ever existed. The same objection would obviously apply in all cases in which the consonant was separated from the accent by an intervening syllable.

I turn now to the explanation given by Gautiot[1] which possesses interest as the only attempt, so far as I have been able to ascertain, to refer Verner's Law to the action of a pitch accent. Unfortunately this theory also rests on airy foundations and may therefore be dismissed in a few words. The basis for Gautiot's whole construction is Wackernagel's Law of the development of I.E. intervocalic *rs* in Greek, and his own interpretation of the nature of the Greek musical accent. The first he claims as a parallel to Verner's Law, but unfortunately it is an extremely doubtful one, since Wackernagel's Law is far from being universally accepted[2], and, this being so, an attempt to apply it for the explanation of Verner's Law is little more than a forlorn hope. His interpretation of the Greek accent I am not competent to judge, although, so far as I see, it differs very considerably from the views of other scholars. Whether it is right or wrong, does not, however, concern us here, since, unless Wackernagel's Law can be shown to be a certainty, there is no sufficient evidence to prove that the Greek accent produced effects similar to those of the Germanic accent. Gautiot's phonetical explanation therefore remains a hypothesis; it has no basis in reality since, apart from the parallel of Greek already mentioned and the very distant one of Bartholomae's Law in Zend, he brings forward no verifying examples, either historical or modern. It is true, room for his hypothesis would still remain, if he had disposed of the stress explanation of his predecessors. This, however, he has not seriously attempted to do. The adherents of the stress theory are dismissed with no further comfort than the following[3]: 'il n'existe en effet pas de relation phonétique entre la production de la sonorité (contraction musculaire des lèvres de la glotte) et l'intensité (force du courant d'air

[1] *Mémoires de la société de linguistique* (Paris) XI, pp. 193 ff.
[2] See Brugmann, *Grundriss*, I², § 846, Anmerkung.
[3] Gautiot, l. c. p. 196.

expiratoire, d'une part, résistance des obstacles buccaux, d'autre part).' This seems to mean that the force of the breath-current never exercises any influence on the voicing or unvoicing of a consonant, an opinion which hardly requires refutation.

Gautiot's conception that the chord vibration at the end of a musically accented vowel tends to come to a sudden end[1], and that this sudden conclusion of the vibration protects a following voiceless sound against voicing may or may not be correct. I see, however, no possibility of demonstrating its truth and removing it from the region of pure conjecture. In singing, a voiced stop or a spirant tends, I have noticed, to be unvoiced; but this seems to be a consequence of the fact that such a consonant sung at a fixed pitch does not produce the effect of a unit speech-sound, but rather of the effect of two separate sounds (one a noise produced in the mouth, the other a sort of muffled but fully voiced vowel) produced contemporaneously. This is easily understood when we reflect that voiced stops and spirants are not often fully voiced but rather murmured, and the 'Murmelstimme' does not easily lend itself to the production of fixed pitch-ratios. If now the movement of musical accent ever tended to remain within fixed relations of pitch, *i.e.* musical intervals, so that musical notes of fixed pitch fell to the 'accented' syllables, it is conceivable that voiced stops and buzzes should be treated as they often are in singing. But such an accent plainly would do more than protect voiceless consonants; it would certainly unvoice voiced ones, and of this there is, of course, no trace in Verner's Law.

A third explanation of Verner's Law is that given by Wundt in the first part of his *Völkerpsychologie*, and in connection with his ingenious explanation of the Germanic Consonant-shifting. Unfortunately, as shown by his linguistic critics, Wundt did not realize fully the historical facts with regard to the phenomena of Verner's Law. His explanation can therefore here be passed over[2].

I come now to an explanation of Verner's Law, which in its origins goes back to Verner himself, although, as can be shown, all Verner's conceptions of the phonetical processes involved were not correct. The modification proposed by Sievers, however, admits, as I believe, of proof. It may be shown in the form not of a hypothesis, but a deduction from the facts. The now accepted formula for Verner's Law is a modification of that given by its discoverer, and was stated by Paul[3], whom all

[1] Gautiot, l. c. p. 196.

[2] Cf. Sütterlin, *Das Wesen der sprachlichen Gebilde*, p. 43; Delbrück, *Grundfragen der Sprachforschung*, p. 104; Wundt, *Die Sprache*, I, p. 423.

[3] Paul and Braune's *Beiträge*, VI, p. 538.

modern authorities follow, as may be seen by a reference to the handbooks (Brugmann, Streitberg, Noreen, etc.). Paul's formula for the law is as follows: 'die nach Vollzug der germanischen Verschiebung vorhandenen vier harten Reibelaute *h, þ, f, s* sind ausser in den Verbindungen *ht, hs, ft, st, sk, sp, ss* erweicht, wenn der nächstvorhergehende Sonant nicht nach der ursprünglichen Betonung den Hauptton trug.'

It will be noticed that this formula contains nothing but a statement of historical facts. It connects the variation between the voiceless and voiced spirants with the original position of the accent, but it says absolutely nothing about the causes involved. The aim of a phonetical explanation must be to show phonetical causes which could produce the effects in question. This may be attempted in two ways: either by erecting a hypothesis which suits the facts and therefore serves to explain them, or, better still, by reasoning deductively from the effects as they are stated in the law to causes lying behind them. A deductive process of this sort is possible when sufficient suitable inductions based on experience are at our disposal. Such inductions have been arrived at as a result of investigations into the general phonetic conditions governing sound-changes. These results have been most ably and exhaustively summarized in Sievers' *Grundzüge der Phonetik*, to which frequent reference will be made in the following.

The explanation of Verner's Law entails the elucidation of four different points: (1) The voicing of the spirants *f, þ, s, χ* in the middle of words and between sonants. (2) The preservation of these spirants unvoiced behind a preceding accented sonant. (3) The preservation of these spirants in most cases in the beginning of words. (4) The voicing of these spirants at the end of words.

No. 1 presents no particular difficulty, because such voicing of spirants is, as already remarked above, a very common phenomenon, and appears in general as a result of partial assimilation, entailed by the presence of neighbouring voiced sounds[1]. As this condition is present under Verner's Law, Verner himself was quite justified in attributing the process to assimilation, in which contention he has rightly been supported by most of his successors. Later observations however led to a more precise conception of the whole process. These pointed to the circumstance that fortis spirants are able to resist the assimilation, which therefore only affects lenis spirants[2]. The spirants

[1] Cf. Sievers, *Grundzüge*[5], § 797.

[2] Sievers in Paul's *Grundriss*, I[2], 312; *Grundzüge*[5], § 796. Wilmanns thus explains the voicing of German intervocalic *s*, cf. *Deutsche Grammatik*, I[2], § 105, Anmerkung 1.

f, þ, *s*, χ must therefore have been lenes at the time when they became ƀ, ð, *z*, ȝ. But their history points to their having been originally fortes, since three of them developed out of *ph*, *th*, *kh*[1]. The first step therefore in the development to ƀ, ð, ȝ, *z* was the weakening of originally fortis *f*, þ, χ, *s* to voiceless lenes. This division of the development into two successive stages clears the way for the explanation of point 2: the preservation of *f*, þ, χ, *s* by a preceding accented sonant.

So far as assimilating forces are concerned, the voiceless spirants here preserved under Verner's Law are exposed to the same conditions as those which were voiced, *i.e.* they are surrounded by voiced sounds. It is clear, therefore, that if those which were voiced had sunk first to lenes, those which remained unvoiced must have resisted the weakening process, must, in other words, have remained fortes. It therefore becomes possible to say that the accented sonant preserved a following fortis spirant from being weakened to a lenis. As there is nothing in the nature of the sonant as such to explain this, we are forced to the conclusion that it was the I.E. accent which preserved the fortis spirant, and the question remains to be answered, of what nature was this accent? In other words, was it a musical accent or a stress accent at the time of the working of Verner's Law? An answer to this question can be given by considering the nature of fortis and lenis consonants on the one hand, of stress (expiratory accent) and pitch (musical accent) on the other. The difference between fortis and lenis consonants is conditioned by differences of force (*i.e.* breath-pressure). A fortis *f* differs essentially from a lenis *f* in being pronounced with a higher degree of breath-pressure. Stress also depends on differences of breath-pressure, whereas musical accent, pitch, is not necessarily regulated by such, but by the muscular adjustment of the vocal chords. These facts suggest at once that if the presence or absence of a fortis is regulated by accent, that accent will be a stress rather than a musical one, which is further borne out by experience. From the preservation of the fortis under Verner's Law we are therefore able to deduce the presence of a stress accent.

The above argumentation leads to the explanation of Verner's Law as formulated by Sievers[2]: 'Die aus den indog. Verschlussfortes *p*, *t*, *k* durch die Lautverschiebung hervorgegangenen Fortes *f*, þ, χ des Wortinnern und Wortschlusses erhielten sich, wie K. Verner gezeigt hat,

[1] Cf. Streitberg, *Urgermanische Grammatik*, § 115.

[2] *Grundzüge der Phonetik*[5], § 831. It will be noticed that point 2 of the requirements above is not touched on in this formula.

nur im Nachlaut der indog. Starktonsilbe; im Nachlaut nicht haupttoniger Silben sanken sie dagegen zunächst zu stimmlosen Lenes herab, um weiter in die stimmhaften Lenes ƀ, ð, ȝ, überzugehen.' We can hardly, however, rest content at this point and consider all difficulties removed, if we regard other cases of the relationship of stress and spirants.

We have already seen that a stress accent preserved a following voiceless spirant in words of the form *áþa*. In this connection our attention is arrested by the fact that in many instances more recent than Verner's Law, the voiceless spirant has not been preserved by a stress accent. As a result, many of the spirants preserved by Verner's Law become voiced at a later period even when the relative position of the spirant to the stress is the same as under the law. Thus *bróþer* becomes in A.S., O.S., O.N., O. Fris., *bróðer*. If we consider A.S. *bróðer* by itself, and ask ourselves why the stress did not preserve a fortis þ—which it plainly did not, else no voicing could have taken place (see also p. 252 below)—the obvious reply is that the syllabic division in *brōðer* lay between the ō and the ð, and that consequently the stress lying on the first syllable could not affect the spirant at the beginning of the second. The deduction from this would be to the effect that the syllabic division at the time of Verner's Law was different from that obtaining later. Verner actually held this view[1], and regarded it as indubitable that we have to divide *fað-ér, bróþ-er*, etc. This seems also to be Kluge's view[2], though held with less confidence by him. Simple, however, as this explanation may seem there are great difficulties in its way. Outside of the law thus construed little else points to the syllables reconstructed by Verner. The late O.N. rhymes cited by him, and the A.S. rhymes cited by Kluge in support of this construction are quite inconclusive, and scholars in general seem of opinion that the primitive Germanic syllables were *fa-ðer, brō-þer*, etc., just as we find them in historic times. This being so, we should have to regard Verner's syllable division, if a necessary consequence of the stress explanation of his law, as a reductio ad absurdum of that explanation. In consequence of this our first attempt to account for the different effect of the stress at different times, breaks down. It may, however, be objected that we are not obliged to compare the later form *brōðer* with the primitive Germanic *brōþer*[3], because we cannot expect sound changes at different times and in different places to take the same course. This objection, however,

[1] Kuhn's *Zeitschrift*, XXIII, 117.
[2] *Vorgeschichte der altgerm. Dialekte*, § 74 and § 36, in Paul's *Grundriss*, I².
[3] For convenience sake I may be permitted to use this form rather than the hypothetically more correct *brōþōr*.

does not hold good in this instance. In the explanation of Verner's Law given above, the stress is regarded as the *cause* of the preservation of the fortis spirant, and that preservation as the effect of the cause. In *brōðer* compared with *brōþer*, cause and conditions remain apparently the same, and we have therefore first to explain the difference in the effect of the cause. This may be attempted in various ways. It is possible (1) that in the case of Verner's Law the accent is only the predisposing cause, and the preservation of the fortis spirants is the result of a factor which remains unknown. If this be so, then this unknown factor must be assumed to be absent when at a later period the spirant becomes voiced. From a phonetic point of view such an explanation, involving an unknown external cause, is unsatisfactory, and could only be allowed in case no purely phonetic explanation were available. (2) We may assume that, although the phonetical cause and conditions remain unvaried, other unknown conditions (*e.g.* of a psychological order) are altered and interfere, in the case of *brōðer*, with the action of the cause as we see it in *brōþer*. Here again we abandon the possibility of a purely phonetic explanation suiting both cases. (3) We may assume that the cause (stress) in the first instance (*brōþer*), though apparently remaining uniform in the second, is in reality varied in such a manner as not to exercise the same effect. Here a phonetic explanation may still be looked for and the question becomes therefore the following: What variations of the phonetic conditions of stress are possible of such a nature as to suit the two examples before us?

The first answer to this question might be that stress is a purely relative conception. That syllable in a word is said to be stressed which is spoken with more force than other syllables in the same word. But these degrees of force may vary. Under certain conditions a syllable which is relatively unstressed might actually be spoken with more force than a syllable which under other conditions is relatively stressed, compared with still weaker syllables. In other words, the degree of force which produces stress, is not constant in all times and places. Consequently the stress in one language may represent a habitually greater degree of force (*i.e.* breath-pressure or lung-pressure) than in another language. One has then a strong, the other a weak stress-accent. It might be expected that a language with a weak stress-accent would show different effects of the accent compared with one having a strong stress-accent. We might then be tempted to see in *bróþer* the consequence of a strong, in *bróðer* the consequence of a weak stress. Such an explanation is, apart from other considerations,

not altogether acceptable for the reason that we select, in giving it, hypothetical conditions which are particularly favourable to an explanation. If we desire to proceed rigorously, we must look for an explanation which satisfies the case in which the conditions are not obviously favourable to such an explanation. That is to say, we must look for an explanation to satisfy the assumption that the stress does not vary in the way above indicated as possible, but remains practically constant in terms of breath-pressure.

We have already seen that a possible explanation of the non-action of the stress in the case of A.S. *brōðer* is the position of the syllabic boundary *brō-ðer*, but that this does not justify us in assuming that the syllabic boundary in *brōþer* lay behind the spirant. Why then could the influence of the stress extend across that boundary in the first case, but not in the second? This question brings us to regard more closely the nature of the syllabic boundary. So far we have only regarded the possibility of its varying its position, without considering whether in a constant position it may not vary in other ways. We have hence assumed tacitly that it must represent a constant hindrance to the effect of the stress on a following consonant, so long as its position remains constant. This may, I believe, be shown not to be true. In considering the nature of the syllabic boundary we must direct our attention to questions of the intensity of the breath-pressure, or as it is sometimes called the 'lung-pressure.'

The syllabic boundary represents a point of lower pressure between two points of higher pressure. (We are of course so far only operating with 'Drucksilben'; 'Schallsilben' in view of the great doubts as to their antiquity must be left out of the question, so long as the other species offer any real services in our task of explanation.) There is, of course, no interruption of the breath-current; we have a more or less gradual diminution of this current followed by a more or less gradual augmentation. The syllabic boundary is the point of least pressure reached during the diminution. This point, however, does not represent a fixed minimum in terms of breath-pressure. In other words the diminution above referred to may be less or it may be greater; for the purposes of syllabic formation it is only necessary that it should be *recognizable*. This being so there are certain inferences which are obvious if we consider the case of a consonant between two vowels and belonging to the second syllable, *e.g. a-fa*. Here it is clear that if the diminution to the syllabic boundary be only the recognizable minimum, the following *f* is likely to be a stronger consonant than if the dimi-

nution be greater than that minimum. For even if the succeeding augmentation in the latter case be equal (which is not necessarily so) to the diminution, the consequent rise in pressure will affect the second vowel *a*, rather than the consonant *f*, in accordance with the general axiom that the breath-pressure tends to be concentrated in the sonant of a syllable[1]. It will furthermore be seen that if in one instance the first syllable has the stress and if in another instance it is unstressed, while the degree of diminution to the syllabic boundary remains unchanged, the *f* is certain to be a stronger consonant in the first than in the second instance, because in the one instance the syllabic boundary represents a lower degree, in the other a higher degree of pressure.

We have now a key to the whole situation. If we take the form *á-fa* and consider it by itself we can say that the fortis or lenis character of the *f* depends on the degree to which the diminution approaches or recedes from the recognizable minimum. A form like the primitive Germanic *bró-þer* therefore represents a diminution in pressure from the stress level which approaches closely or coincides with the recognizable minimum; a form like A.S. *bró-ðer* (or better the transition stage to this with lenis þ) represents one in which the diminution is considerably greater than the minimum. On the other hand, primitive *bró-þer*, compared with *fa-ðér*, depends on the fact that so long as the diminution is not greater in the first than in the second, the following consonant is bound to have more of fortis character in *bró-þer* than in *fa-ðér*, which again means that the weakening of the fortis will be controlled by the relative position of the stress, so long as the diminution tends to the minimum. To sum up: these considerations of the conditions of pressure governing the syllabic boundary explain to us why the influence of stress on a following consonant is not necessarily uniform, and therefore give us an answer to the question on p. 240. Since they further show why the position of the consonant in a stressed or unstressed syllable (*fa-ðér, bé-ra-ðai, bró-þer*) is immaterial, we see how unnecessary was Verner's conception of a harmony by which voiceless consonant (*i.e.* fortis) and stressed syllable, voiced consonant (*i.e.* lenis) and unstressed syllable were connected together, a conception which of necessity led to his incorrect deduction with regard to the position of the syllabic boundary in primitive Germanic.

The third point (p. 237), which requires explanation must now be considered. Verner excepted the spirant in the word-onsound from his law, but gave no phonetical explanation of this. Perhaps he did not

[1] Cf. Sievers in Paul's *Grundriss*, I², p. 305; *Grundzüge*⁵, § 539.

regard himself as under any necessity to do so, since he only stated his law for the mid-sound and off-sound of words. It is perhaps hardly necessary to enquire here whether this procedure was correct or not, although it may be noted that Sweet supplied the omission, by asserting that the spirant in the beginning of words was not subjected to the same conditions of assimilation as the spirant in the middle of words[1]. So soon, however, as the attempt was made to extend Verner's Law to the onsound of words, it became necessary to consider the relationship of the word-onsound to the phonetic principle of Verner's Law. The first step towards that extension of the law was taken by Kluge[2], who proved that Verner's Law applied to the onsound of the second element of compounds. Bugge[3] went a step further and tried to prove the same for the free onsound, with at least partial success. Neither of these investigators however considered the bearing of his theory on the phonetical explanation of the law.

We proceed to enquire in how far theoretical grounds exempt the word-onsound from the action of the law, or otherwise. We have seen that the first step towards voicing of the original voiceless spirant was weakening from a fortis to a lenis. The first question, therefore, that arises in connection with the onsound is, whether the spirant in that position was of necessity exempted from the weakening. To this we can only reply that, given the free accent of the period, there is no reason why the onsound should be any more exempt than the mid-sound. In other words in a form *fa-þér* > *fa-ðér* there is no reason why the *f* should not generally speaking (for an exception see below) have been weakened as well as the *þ*. In this connection we may remember that at a later period *χ* > *h*, in other words, at some time, was reduced to a lenis *χ*. This development takes place not only in the word interior but also at the beginning of words, which proves that the onsound does not necessarily protect a fortis consonant against weakening. The same is proved in modern examples, *e.g.* by the dialect of Pernegg, in which *f*, *s*, *š* are lenes in the word-beginning[4]. Why then are there so few cases of voicing in the free onsound? This, I think, may be made clear by adapting Sweet's explanation referred to above. The conditions of voicing were not so perfect in the case of the onsound. We may argue

[1] *History of English Sounds*, § 315, Sweet indeed speaks of 'weakening' (not assimilation), but plainly regards this weakening process as an assimilatory one.

[2] Kuhn's *Zeitschrift*, XXVI, pp. 82 ff.

[3] Paul and Braune's *Beiträge*, XII, pp. 399 ff.

[4] Lessiak, *Die Mundart von Pernegg in Kärnten*, § 11, Paul and Braune's *Beiträge*, XXVIII, pp. 1 ff.

as follows: The conditions governing the onsound of words are not constant, but vary with the position of the word in the sentence. If the word *fa-þér* stood at the beginning of the sentence the *f* would be reduced, but not probably voiced; if it were preceded by a word ending in an unaccented sonant it would be reduced and voiced; if it were preceded by a word ending in an accented vowel, the *f* would be neither reduced nor voiced (*Fa-þér* > *fa-ðér*; *-a Fa-þér* > *-a ða-ðer*; *-á Fa-þér* > *-á Fa-ðér*, where *F* stands for fortis, *f* for voiceless lenis).

The Germanic languages have seldom been so amenable to the influences of 'Satz-sandhi' as to rest content with such a multiplicity of forms as the above. The greater uniformity of later times can only be attributed to analogical processes which favoured the voiceless consonant in the main, whereas the fact that a few voiced forms survived this process need not be regarded as surprising, nor as necessarily calling for a separate explanation in each case.

The credit of directing attention to the settlement of these analogical processes belongs to Wilmanns[1]. According to him the conclusion of the historical processes grouped under Verner's Law was only reached in the case of the word-onsound after the later retraction of the accent to the first syllable. In consequence of this, 'finden wir die erweichte Spirans nicht im Anlaut betonter Wörter, wohl aber im Anlaut der unbetonten Partikel ga-,... und zuweilen im Anlaut eines zweiten Kompositionsgliedes.' The deciding factor in the whole development is the final position of the stress.

The explanation is therefore: The doublets which must originally have arisen through the action of Verner's Law in the word-onsound (as shown above) were got rid of after the retraction of the accent by levelling out. In most cases the voiceless consonant was levelled out because the drawing back of the accent put the stress on the first syllable of words (*e.g. faðer*). Where this was not the case the voiced consonant got the upper hand (*e.g. ga-*). That the voiceless consonant carried the day in the first instance would doubtless be owing to the existence of the emphatic forms. That is to say, the three Sandhi-forms mentioned above, viz. *Faðer*, *faðer*, *ðaðer*, would still exist for some time after the accent receded. Of these the emphatic form would naturally be the one with the voiceless fortis, and as the emphatic form, it would prove stronger than the other two when levelling began. Equally natural is the favouring of the voiced consonant in the un-

[1] *Deutsche Grammatik*, 1², § 24. This passage has been completely misunderstood by Kip, l.c.

stressed proclitic syllables. This, as we shall see, occurred also in the end-syllables which were unstressed after the recession of the accent. The treatment of the spirant in the onsound and offsound of words was, so to speak, correlative.

In connection with the above remarks it may be recalled that Noreen[1] restricts the effects of Sandhi to enclitic and proclitic forms of pronouns and the like. I see no reason for this. Even when the stress is fixed later on the first syllable, fortes at the beginning of that syllable, as shown above, may sink to lenes (and that is the most important phonetical result involved in Verner's Law). Much more then would this be the case under a free accent; is not *e.g.* the first syllable of *fa-ðér* a proclitic syllable to all intents and purposes under the free accent? It is further to be noted, that various of Noreen's suggestions to explain the presence of voiced consonants without an appeal to the law, can also be employed to explain why the later analogical processes did not establish the voiceless consonant in all cases. For example, if the second member of a compound supplanted the simple form ('simplex'), this is all the more easily understood if the 'simplex' had doublets, one of which coincided with this compounded form.

In discussing the fourth point mentioned above, we notice first the obvious fact that the spirant in the word-end cannot have been always exposed to the same conditions of voicing as the spirant in the word-middle, although it must have been reduced to a lenis when not protected by an accented sonant. When followed, for example, by a word beginning with a voiceless consonant, it cannot have been voiced. Wilmanns, indeed, goes further than this and doubts the applicability of Verner's Law to the offsound in general. He says[2]: 'Das Verner'sche Gesetz brauchte im Auslaut nicht dieselbe Wirkung zu üben wie im Inlaut, da selbst vor vokalischem Anlaut die Bedingungen andere waren. Denn in der Regel wurde doch wohl der vokalische Anlaut mit stimmlosem Einsatz gesprochen.' In so far, however, as the effect of the law was to preserve or reduce a fortis, it must have applied to the offsound. The only ground for hesitation lies in the possibilities of the subsequent voicing. With regard to this I see, however, no forcible reason to believe that a voiceless on-glide before initial vowels was more general in Primitive Germanic than it is in modern languages, in which it seems exceptional. The chief argument in support of its having been general, is the supposition that vowel alliteration in early alliterative

[1] *Urgermanische Lautlehre*, § 38, Anmerkung 1.
[2] *Deutsche Grammatik*, § 101, Anmerkung 1.

poetry implies the presence of the glottal catch. It only does so, however, if we assume that vowels cannot alliterate without the glottal catch, whereas the opposite is proved by the frequent occurrence of vowel-alliteration in modern English poetry. On the other hand, vowel-alliteration is, so far as my observation goes, a comparatively rare phenomenon in modern German poetry, in spite of the existence of the glottal catch in that language.

There can be little doubt that the spirant in the Germanic word-offsound must have been voiced under Sandhi conditions analogous to those already adduced for the spirant in the onsound. We find in later periods that circumstances obtain, which are the exact opposite of those governing the beginning of words. In the latter case the voiceless spirant, as mentioned above, was levelled out. In the former, we find the voiced spirant even in those endings which in the time of the free accent were sometimes accented, sometimes not, and for this reason alone must have appeared in double form after the working of Verner's Law (*e.g.* I. E. nominative ending *-os, -is, -us* > *-az, -iz, -uz*). It is plain that here the voiced spirant was levelled out[1]. This we can explain by an adaptation of Wilmanns' suggestion for the onsound. Just as in the onsound the voiceless spirant was levelled out because after the accent-retraction, the first syllable was accented, so in the offsound the voiced spirant was levelled out because after that event the end-syllables were unaccented. It is not surprising that this levelling out was not carried through with absolute consistency in either case. In the first instance, some voiced spirants asserted themselves even in the word beginning. In the second instance, some voiceless spirants were retained in well-known examples, *e.g.* O.S. nominative plural *-os*, A.S. *-as*, as compared with O.N. *-ar*, O.H.G. *-â*; A.S. 3rd sing. *-iþ* > *-eþ*, compared with Gothic *-iđ* > *-iþ*, O.H.G. *-it*.

The explanation of Verner's Law as considered so far, rests upon certain deductions: *e.g.* from the fact that certain spirants became voiced, we may infer that they were lenis spirants. This deduction is further based on an induction, namely, that voiceless consonants become voiced only when they are lenes. It might therefore be claimed that if these inductions and deductions are correct, the explanation itself is correct. It has, however, to be noted that the facts with which we are dealing are historical facts, and, being so, took place under conditions which we necessarily cannot accurately define in every detail. These facts, furthermore, as linguistic facts, were governed by psycho-physiological

[1] Cf. Paul, *Zum Vernerschen Gesetz*, in Paul and Braune's *Beiträge*, VI.

conditions, whereas our explanation for the greater part deals only with the physiological factors, neglecting the psychical. Under the circumstances, it is natural to look for some means of verifying the results of our explanation. As experiment is—as yet at least—not applicable to the historical investigation of language, the next best method of verification is the production of parallel instances, occurring in other times and places, in which similar causes can be shown to produce similar effects.

Various parallels have been suggested to Verner's Law; but these have not always been apposite, *e.g.* Wackernagel's Law for Greek, Conway's attempt for Latin and allied dialects[1]. So far as verification of the theory of the law is concerned only such examples can be admitted with any confidence which are found in modern living languages, where we can accurately judge of all the conditions under which the law works. Sweet has claimed that such a parallel occurs in modern English. This case he states as follows (*New English Grammar*, § 863): 'Towards the end of the First MnE. period (s) preceded by a weak vowel and followed by a strong vowel became (z), whence the Present English distinction between ig.zəət and eksəsaiz, the (s) being preserved unchanged in the latter word because it is followed by a weak vowel. Other examples are *exhibit*, compared with *exhibition, example, anxiety* (æŋ-zaiiti) compared with (æŋʃəs), where the change of (s) into (ʃ) is a late one, *dessert, disease, dissolve, transact.* Exceptions to this rule are the result of analogy. Thus *əbsent* owes its (s) to influence of the adjective *absent* (æbsənt), *research* to the influence of *search.*' To which I add that, as might be expected, the influence of analogy is variable; thus *research* is very frequently pronounced 'ri.zəətʃ,' and *resource* is heard both with *z* and *s.* Kaluza points to a further exception in the case of *s* before accented *u*[2]. As *u* is then = *juw*, the voiceless consonant is, of course, preserved by the influence of this (voiceless) *j*, and the exception is only apparent (cf. *pursue*, etc.). A further exception to the rule given above must be noted in all cases in which the sound *s* is written *c, e.g. deceive, conceal, receipt, except*, etc. This exception seems to me as, in all probability, due merely to the influence of the written forms. At the time when the law operated, *s* was the traditional way of writing *z* in a great many cases, but this did not hold good for *c*, a fact to which in the Mn. period, we are certainly justified in assigning

[1] Cf. Brugmann, *Kleine Vergleichende Grammatik*, I, p. 63: 'Nachwirkungen des uridg. Sitzes des Wortakzents im Ital. sind nicht aufgefunden.' The attempt referred to will be found in Conway's *Verner's Law in Italy*, 1887.

[2] *Historische Grammatik der englischen Sprache*, § 411, Anmerkung 2.

great importance. It is interesting to note in this connection, that *deceive* occurs dialectically with *z*[1], although as the law we are dealing with belongs to the literary language, it is doubtful whether we can make here a definite confirmatory employment of that fact. Words which have *ss* or *sc* vary, but favour the voiceless sound—*e.g. discern*: *descend*, etc.; *dissolve*: *assert, assign*, etc. This is also a consequence of the influence of the orthography, as is proved by the fact that the pronouncing dictionaries of the eighteenth century show the theoretical pronunciation of *assign* etc. with a geminate.

It remains to enquire critically into Sweet's claim that we have in this law as stated by him[2], an analogy to Verner's Law. Although it is obvious that Sweet's formula, given above, does not contain the same statement of cause and effect, as is implied in the explanation of Verner's Law, I think the result of such an enquiry will be to confirm the correctness of his claim.

Sweet says that in a word like *dissolution*, the *s* is preserved because it is followed by a weak vowel. This *s* is, however, a fortis, and there can, therefore, be little doubt that that is the real reason of its being preserved unvoiced. On the other hand, in *dissolve*, the *s* has become voiced, which can only be understood according to the principles we have observed so far, by assuming that it had first been reduced to a lenis. If now *dissolution*: *dissolve* represent cases of the preservation and weakening of a fortis spirant, it is obvious that the stress is the governing factor. It preserves the following fortis, but cannot preserve the preceding one. If this is true, we may expect to find that so far as the strength of the *s* is concerned, the first phonetical conditions for voicing will be present in *deceive, i.e.* to find that the *s* of *deceive* is a lenis, compared with the fortis *s* in *dissolution* or that in *grass*. Furthermore, we shall expect to find that every *s* not protected by a preceding stress, will tend to be a lenis, that we have therefore a lenis in words like *comparison, analysis*, and so on. The point which is thus raised is a difficult one to decide, as the present writer is not aware of any objective criteria which can be applied in its solution. It may be that 'experimental' phonetics will some day be able to make an authoritative statement in the matter. For the present, the linguistic investigator

[1] Wright, *English Dialect Grammar*, p. 402.

[2] The credit of formulating the law as one of historical development certainly belongs to Sweet, but it must not be overlooked that the variation between *s* and *z* had already been observed by Walker (1793) and stated correctly with reference to the position of the accent. The orthoepists of the eighteenth century were, indeed, unworthy successors of Wallis, Wilkins and Holder, but they are at times entitled to a modest share of credit.

is compelled to rely on his subjective observation. I believe, however, personally that in modern English the fortis or lenis character of *s* depends on its relative position with regard to the stress, and feel myself justified in claiming that an *s* immediately following the stress is a fortis compared with that in any other position. This is quite obvious if we compare the *s* in *dissolution* with *s* of unaccented syllables in *analysis*, and *comparison*. I have noticed a German who spoke English very fluently, and with a good pronunciation, pronounce *z* in *comparison*, most likely because he failed to distinguish between the weak *s* and the voiced form. Its lenis nature is, however, not so obvious if we compare the *s* in the beginning of an accented syllable with that at the end, *e.g. deceive*, compared with *dissolution*, or *sea*, compared with *grass*. We may, however, be guided by the following considerations. The movement of the breath-pressure in the syllable is in general crescendo-decrescendo (< >), the highest point of pressure lying in the sonant. In consequence of this the consonant beginning the syllable is pronounced crescendo, that concluding it decrescendo. The question now arises, whether the crescendo consonant at the beginning or the decrescendo one at the end of the syllable has the greater relative intensity. This question may be answered by considering the relationship of the intensity of the consonants in the syllable to the intensity of the sonant. In English a short accented vowel is cut off by a following consonant in the moment of greatest intensity, while even in the case of a long vowel, the diminution of force towards the end of the vowel is so slight as to be scarcely noticeable. Consequently it may be said that the intensity of a consonant at the end of an accented syllable in English stands in a constant relationship to the intensity of the sonant, so that the consonant in such a case has always a fortis character[1]. The relationship of the intensity of the crescendo consonant at the beginning of the syllable to the intensity of the following sonant is not the same. While the consonant which follows must, as seen above, participate in the intensity of the sonant, the consonant preceding does not generally do so. In fact, as the vowel itself begins crescendo, it tends to cut off the consonant while it is still weak, just as the consonant which follows the accented vowel, cuts that vowel off while it is still strong. It is therefore evident that the most favourable position for the preservation of a fortis consonant in a language with the conditions of syllable stress obtaining in English is the position immediately after a stress vowel. The position preceding the stressed vowel is less so, and as a matter of fact, it appears to me that fortis consonants only occur

[1] This is, of course, to be understood in terms of the *total* breath-pressure.

in this position in emphatic forms where the syllable stress tends to a more or less 'level' form (= >). I have therefore little hesitation in claiming that, under ordinary circumstances, the *s* both of *deceive* and of *comparison* is a lenis compared with that of *dissolution.*

We have already seen why the *s* of the first example was not voiced, although reduced. We should, however, expect it also to be voiced in *comparison*, if the parallel to Verner's Law were complete. That this was not so, may, however, be simply explained. In English, unstressed vowels tend not to be fully voiced, that is to say, to be murmured or even whispered. It is plain that an s between two unstressed vowels was therefore not so favourably placed for voicing as one followed by a stressed (*i.e.* fully voiced) vowel. This seems to explain why voicing could take place in *dissolve* but not in *comparison.* Of course, in Primitive Germanic at the time of Verner's Law, even stressless vowels were fully voiced, and could therefore exercise an assimilating effect on neighbouring lenis spirants.

From the above it appears that in the case of *s* we have in Modern English a very good parallel to Verner's Law in so far as the word-interior is concerned. The mutual relationship of fortis and lenis is the same as that deduced for Verner's Law, and the only partial parallelism in the final voicing process allows of satisfactory explanation.

We are now, however, faced with the difficulty that whereas Verner's Law applied not to one sound, but to a series of sounds, namely the whole series of the existing spirants, our English parallel so far only involves one spirant, *s*. In face of Sievers' generalisation[1]: 'es findet gewöhnlich eine korrespondierende Entwicklung korrespondierender Lautreihen in korrespondierender Stellung statt,' this must be acknowledged as an unsatisfactory circumstance. As condition of a perfect parallel, we should be compelled to demand not only that *s*, but all the other voiceless spirants of English (*f, f,* þ) should be similarly affected under the same conditions. It is obvious, however, that no other spirant has been voiced under the same conditions as *s* in the examples above (cf. *affirmation* : *affirm,* with *dissolution* : *dissolve*). How can this difficulty be met?

We have seen that Verner's Law involves a double process, namely, (1) the regulation of the intensity of the affected consonants by the position of the stress, and (2) the partial assimilation of weak consonants. These two processes are of a different order, the first being governed by physiological factors, while the second assimilatory process is finally conditioned by psychical factors. The result of this is that while

[1] Cf. *Grundzüge*, § 11.

the first prepares the way for the second, and renders it possible, the assimilation does not necessarily come into play if the psychical causes of assimilation are hindered by special circumstances. Thus we saw above that in English the orthography could exert such an influence as to hinder the assimilation of words like *deceive*, in spite of the fact that the 'predisposing' physiological conditions are present. The consequence of this is that it is possible to have a perfect parallel to process 1, even when the parallel does not hold good for process 2.

This is apparently the case in English. As we saw above, the regulation of the intensity of the *s* is the same as under Verner's Law. It is obvious, however, that in this respect an *f* or any other spirant, is governed by the same conditions as an *s*. So far as the distribution of intensity is concerned, the pair *affirmation* : *affirm* is exactly parallel to *dissolution* : *dissolve*. I do not think we are going too far if we attribute the voiceless *f* of *affirm* to the influence of the orthography. The sign *f* was and is indissolubly associated with a voiceless sound. It must be remembered that in modern English we have a 'Kultursprache' in which the 'Schriftbild' plays an exceedingly important rôle in the complex series of associations represented by any individual word[1]. In consequence of this we find that in modern English, contact assimilations meet with much more resistance than they do in the life of a dialect. This is illustrated by the fate of such natural assimilations as *əi hæf tu, hi hæs tu* ('I have to,' 'he has to') or *kapmsesə* ('cup and saucer'). To sum up, as far as the word-interior is concerned, English affords a satisfactory parallel to Verner's Law, allowance being made for the different conditions governing the voicing process.

In the onsound of words, which has now to be considered, we have, in accordance with the consideration advanced above (p. 249), generally lenis spirants in modern English. No voicing takes place. This is probably to be explained by the assumption that in modern English weak spirants can only be voiced in 'stehenden Verbindungen,' between a preceding stressless and a following stressed (*i.e.* fully voiced) vowel. In other words, a constant position is necessary to produce the effect. Accordingly, under the varying conditions of Sandhi, no voicing of spirants takes place, either in the word-beginning or word-end. Plainly, the form *asá* occurs too seldom outside the word-interior to exert any influence in the direction of voicing initial or final consonants.

The Middle English period seems, however, to offer full parallels to Verner's Law in the treatment of initial and final spirants. I. The

[1] Cf. Wundt, on the *Psychische Struktur der Wortvorstellungen* in his *Völkerpsychologie*, I, 1, pp. 519 ff.

onsound. The M.E. dialects fall into two groups, those which voice initial spirants (f, þ, s) and those which do not[1]. I think it is necessary to connect this condition of affairs with the general intervocalic voicing of spirants in Anglo-Saxon already referred to. We then see in these two groups the levelling from an original Sandhi variation between voiced and voiceless sounds; the one (Southern) group having levelled out the voiced, the other group the voiceless sound in each case. In the latter group the levelling takes the same course as in Germanic (see above, p. 244). It is interesting to find in this group, to which the modern language belongs, a short series of unaccented words with voiced initial spirant, namely, *the, then, that, thou* etc.[2], a clear parallel to the early state of affairs in Germanic described above. II. The offsound. We have here the voicing of final weak *f*, þ, *s*, *tf* in *of, with, -es, knowledge*, etc. (see Sweet, l.c.). The parallelism between this and the treatment of final spirants in Germanic (see above, p. 246) is seen at the first glance.

In conclusion, I wish to point out that the weakening of originally fortis spirants, which I deduced (above, p. 239) from the later voicing of such spirants in various dialects, admits of confirmation from another source. In modern South German dialects the weakening of original fortis spirants to lenes is a common phenomenon. In connection with it we note, however, a special circumstance, namely, that the weakening affects the guttural fortis spirant (χ) to a greater extent than the labial or dental spirants. Where *f*, *s*, *š* appear as voiceless lenes, χ generally is replaced by the 'Hauchlaut' *h* (I mention as an example the dialect of Pernegg described by Lessiak recently). From this in accordance with the 'series' law—referred to above, p. 250—we can argue that the presence of *h* instead of original fortis χ is a sign that the fortis spirant series of the language where it occurs, has been weakened to a series of lenis spirants. Wherever therefore $h < \chi$ can be shown in the Germanic dialects, we may argue that the rest of the original spirants are lenes in the corresponding position. As χ was weakened to *h* between vowels, it follows that the intervocalic spirants which became voiced were lenes. The fact that intervocalic *h* disappears in those dialects which voice intervocalic spirants, while it is preserved in O.H.G., suggests that the disappearance of *h* is due to voicing in this position, which occurs contemporaneously with the voicing of *f*, þ, *s*.

R. A. Williams.

[1] See Sweet, *History of English Sounds*, § 728 ff.

[2] Sweet, l.c., § 730. The same words likewise developed a voiced spirant in Frisian apparently under similar conditions. Cf. Siebs, *Geschichte der friesischen Sprache*, § 122 in Paul's *Grundriss*, 1^2.

REVIEWS.

S. Francesco e la sua Leggenda. Dal Prof. NINO TAMASSIA. Padua: Drucker, 1906. xi + 216 pp.

From St Francis to Dante. A Translation of all that is of primary interest in the chronicle of the Franciscan Salimbene. By G. G. COULTON. London: Nutt, 1906. 8vo. vi + 364 pp.

The Little Flowers of the Glorious Messer St Francis and of his Friars. Done into English by W. HEYWOOD, with an Introduction by A. G. FERRERS HOWELL. London: Methuen, 1906. 8vo. xxviii + 202 pp.

We have to welcome a new and attractive edition of the *Fioretti* just at a moment when Franciscan criticism is beginning to take a new turn. The pioneer work of M. Sabatier has made the 'Poverello d'Assisi' a familiar figure in all parts of Europe. Neither diversity of language nor difference of creed or of communion have effectually barred the progress of his contagious enthusiasm; and for the great and growing output of Franciscan literature popular or serious, sentimental or critical, the eminent French student is ultimately responsible. But the last word has not been spoken; and there are still many aspects in which the original documents—the *fontes*—of Franciscanism desiderate a scientifically critical investigation. A fresh start has now been made by Professor Nino Tamassia, who, in virtue of his special line of study as 'Professore di Storia del diritto e di Diritto ecclesiastico' at Padua, is steeped in the hagiographical literature of Saint Francis' day, as also in that which formed the literary pabulum of the Saint's more learned contemporaries. Professor Tamassia's study of the *fonti francescani* is unquestionably a work that will have to be reckoned with by future critics. Steeped, as we have seen, in the Dialogues of Gregory the Great, the ascetic pages of Cassian, and the diverting stories of Caesarius of Heisterbach, Thomas of Celano's elder contemporary, our critic sees these and kindred writers everywhere reproduced by the 'original' biographer of St Francis. Celano is for him a plagiarist of the deepest die, a rhetorician, and a sceptic to boot, and he goes so far as to say 'siamo tratti a credere vero quello solo che, a nostro giudizio, il *verace* biografo, anche volendo, non avrebbe potuto tacere, senza alterare tanto il ritratto del Santo, da renderlo irriconoscibile!' Such a charge demands very strong proof: and indeed

Professor Tamassia produces chapter and verse for all, or nearly all, of his assertions. The foot of every page is piled up, not merely with references, but also with liberal quotations from his authorities. How far these references prove his case we must leave experts to decide; merely suggesting that if A did, said, or suffered a thing in the fifth or sixth century, that does not make it impossible that B should have repeated it in the thirteenth, especially if both A and B were confessedly striving to imitate the same model: further, if C, writing of B, finds classic phrases ready to his hand in the familiar story of A, and thinks well to employ them.....the *literary* conclusions may be more certain than the *historical*.

But, as we have said, Professor Tamassia's work is at any rate one that must be reckoned with, and should help to initiate a more severe and far-reaching criticism of the *fontes franciscani*. Yet, whatever conclusions may finally be reached as to the interrelations and the antecedents of the *Prima* and *Secunda Vita* of Celano, the so-called *Speculum*, the *Actus*, the *Legenda Trium Sociorum*, and the *Fioretti*, the last-named work will never lose its popularity. 'Original' in the literary-historical sense, it is not; but no critical analysis, however convincing, can ever deprive the book of its naïve beauty, its bloom of simplicity—an 'originality' which is independent of its literary history. Accepted in Italy for its style as a *testo di lingua*, it will always remain a classic. Of Mr Heywood's translation it is enough to say that it is worthily done. The translator has added a new obligation to those already laid by him on English lovers of Italy. In his clear and useful little Introduction Mr Howell deals with St Francis, his influence, and the early writings about him; and here he recognises the need of further critical investigation. 'The authorship, date and subject-matter of the *Speculum Perfectionis* and the *Legenda Trium Sociorum*, and the relation of these works to one another and to Celano's *Lives*, furnish problems of extreme intricacy, of which the solutions have not yet been attained.'

The hero of Mr Coulton's book is really Fra Salimbene, and not Saint Francis or Dante; but its subject is essentially Franciscan, and it shares with Professor Tamassia's essay the aim of disillusionment. Sig. Tamassia's desire is to impress on us the fact that the story of Saint Francis has been tampered with at its source; that the official biographer of the Saint was a bare-faced plagiarist, attributing to his hero words, deeds, and, above all, miracles that were simply the stock-in-trade of the mediaeval hagiographer. And all this, he holds, was done with a deep design, viz. to efface all traces of the old free, naïve, and more than half heretical Franciscanism, in the interests of that strict alliance with the Papacy whereby the Sons of Francis forfeited their birthright to win official recognition and corporate persistence. Mr Coulton's message of disillusionment is of a different kind. His purpose is to shew that the thirteenth century was not, after all, that 'Golden Age' in religion and morality and social well-being as in art and architecture, which is so glowingly sketched by those 'professional

apologists' the poet, the romancer and the ecclesiastic, who have, as he feels, too long monopolised the happy hunting-ground of mediaeval history. Granted the grandeur of the thirteenth century in art and architecture, can we argue therefrom to religious sincerity or to purity of morals? Far from it. Mr Coulton's method is simple and convincing; he introduces us to an intelligent and, in his way, honest and impartial eye-witness of things as they were, and lets us question the immortal gossip Fra Salimbene on a vast variety of topics. And as we listen to the vivid descriptions, the enlightening stories, the life-like character-sketches of the Friar of Parma, we are almost inclined to exclaim with the translator: 'Imagination staggers at the moral gulf that yawns between that age and ours.' Frankly, the book is a controversial one, written, confessedly, with a purpose; but it suffers from few, if any, of the defects that usually mar such a book. It consists largely of a catena of well-selected and well-arranged passages from Salimbene's chronicle, translated into good English; and to these are added numerous illustrations from contemporary or nearly contemporary writers, while the more unsavoury episodes (which could not be left out without weakening the argument) are thoughtfully relegated to a Latin appendix. Many of Mr Coulton's readers may fail to sympathise with this or that detail in his attitude or his way of putting things, but with his main contention probably no right-minded man would disagree. He finds the 'Ages of Faith' absorbingly interesting, and sees in them 'the key to most modern problems,' but he holds it folly to idealise them, to close our eyes to their darker side, to wish ourselves back in them. If his book is unduly gloomy it is simply because the balance needs to be redressed; because those who follow the fashion in a sentimental idolatry of the thirteenth century need bracing by a plunge into the grim realities with which Salimbene sets us face to face.

Students of Dante will be grateful to Mr Coulton; not because he is in the strictest sense a specialist in their subject—he still speaks of the *Convito*, and has little or no doubt that 'Matelda' is the Countess Matilda—but because he makes so much of Salimbene accessible. There is no one chronicler—except, perhaps, Giovanni Villani or Dino Compagni—who has so much to say about the personages who figure in the *Divina Commedia*. Salimbene's contemporaries, in whom he was intensely interested, died just at the right time to find places in the three kingdoms of the other world before 1300, and their memory was still fresh when Dante wrote. Salimbene is, indeed, a true link between the life of Saint Francis and that of Dante Alighieri. But hitherto his chronicle has only existed in the single MS, and the inaccessible and faulty *editio princeps* published at Parma in 1857. Professor Holder-Egger's new critical edition in the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*[1] is still in course of publication, and when completed will scarcely be a handy reference book for the average English reader. Something more popular is probably to be desired; but

[1] Scriptorum: tom. XXXII. (Hannoveriae impensis bibliopolii Hahniani MDCCCCVI.).

meanwhile we may be thankful for what Mr Coulton describes—perhaps a little confidently—as a 'translation of all that is of primary interest in the chronicle of the Franciscan Salimbene.'

L. Ragg.

Altitalienisches Elementarbuch. Von Berthold Wiese. (*Sammlung romanischer Elementarbücher*, I. Reihe, 4.) Heidelberg: Winter, 1904. 8vo. xi + 320 pp.

This notice is somewhat long overdue; but it does not much matter, since Dr Wiese's handy little book is probably not yet in any very wide use in England either 'as a basis for introductory lectures' in its subject, the language of the earliest Italian literature, or as 'a modest guide to those who are beginning to study the subject for themselves'—as in his brief preface he summarises its aims. The lecturer on early Italian does not, so far, find his lecture-room at all uncomfortably crowded. Yet a good many people profess some kind of interest in Dante, and it is as impossible to understand Dante properly without some knowledge of the language used by the poets whom he read when he began to read poetry, as to understand Shakespeare without some knowledge of sixteenth century English. But to the *altri pochi*, if such there be, Dr Wiese's book may be safely commended—provided always that they can cope with the rather forbidding German affected by philologists. For a translation they may have long to wait; and here one may perhaps remark not without envy upon the favoured position held by the German student of the less popular branches of learning. What English publisher, one would like to know, would in his most reckless mood hesitate for a moment before declining a work of this kind? And so the vicious circle grows: no students, no books; no books, no students.

Of course one can pick holes here and there. Dr Wiese's etymologies, for example, though confident, are not always convincing. No doubt in a book on this scale a good deal of apparent dogmatism is unavoidable; but there certainly are a great many of those Latin words (or ghost words) with a star in which the modern philologist revels. At least a hint might have been given that philology is as yet far from being an exact science—certainly not a branch of physiology—and that it still needs a good deal of help from history to keep a secure footing. No doubt in a sense there was a physical reason for every sound-change; but no one who has taken note of the varieties of 'phonetic degradation' observable among children of the same family, of identical 'heredity' and 'environment,' in their first efforts at articulation, can suppose that we are yet near to the stage at which we can say dogmatically in every case that such and such a change was or was not possible within any given group. Dr Wiese sometimes yields to the besetting weakness of his countrymen for proving the obvious. Surely the fact of Latin neuter plurals ending in *a* is quite

enough to explain the cases in which such words have become feminine in the modern languages, without any need to fall back on 'an explanation' which 'Osthoff gave me verbally'—that it might have arisen from the (supposed) formation of a Latin neuter plural *illae* to correspond with *quae*! There is a good little chrestomathy, with a glossary, which will be useful to students. But sùrely *avenente* does not mean 'Folge'; nor is *al postutto* strictly equivalent to 'gänzlich.'

The decision, taken in deference to 'the wish of the editor of the collection (of elementary grammars, of which this is one) Dr Meyer-Lübke and to the pedagogic consideration' that the learner would get on quicker if not bothered with Latin (to put it briefly), to start rather from Italian itself, cannot be regarded as fortunate. It is quite impossible to treat Italian Historical Grammar without constant reference to Latin. In the present case, as an instance already given shows, the rule must sometimes be broken; and other cases occur throughout. In such a sentence as 'La quale cità, secondo ke se trova, fo kiamata Orelia e mo è kiamato Arecço,' the change of gender is explained at once by our old friend 'Thebae quod Boeotiae caput est.' For the infinitive in the relative clause (§ 124) Dr Wiese will find a better example than the doubtful one he gives in Mazzeo di Rico, *Ant. Rim. Volg.*, No. lxxvii.

A. J. Butler.

Bibliotheca Hispanica. Vol. xiv. *Libro de los engaños ɔ los asayamientos de las mugeres.* Publícalo Adolfo Bonilla y San Martín. Barcelona: "L'Avenç"; Madrid: M. Murillo. 8vo. 74 pp.

In the third volume of his *Historia crítica de la literatura española* (Madrid, 1863), José Amador de los Ríos, acting on the suggestion of Florencio Janer, drew attention to the existence of a unique manuscript in the collection of the Conde de Puñonrostro. This manuscript contained a Spanish text translated from the Arabic in or about 1253 by order of Alfonso the Learned's brother, the Infante Don Fadrique, and is apparently the earliest surviving version in any European vernacular of *Sindibād.* The Spanish text was published by Domenico Comparetti in his *Ricerche intorno al libro de Sindibâd* (Milan, 1869), and was reprinted by him, with a preface by Mr G. L. Gomme, among the Folk Lore Society's publications in 1882. Unfortunately, the Spanish manuscript is not as accurate as might be wished, and, to make matters worse, the copy supplied to Comparetti by Amador de los Ríos was far from correct. The issues of 1869 and 1882 were speedily exhausted, and a new edition of the text became an urgent necessity. On the dispersal of the Puñonrostro collection, the manuscript finally came into the possession of the late Eugenio Krapf, an enterprising Swiss publisher settled at Vigo, who commissioned Sr. Bonilla y San Martín to prepare a new edition. It is now available in M. Foulché-Delbosc's *Bibliotheca Hispanica*, and will be invaluable not only to specialists in Spanish, but to all students of mediæval literature.

Benfey and, more especially, Comparetti have traced the descent of the Spanish version from a lost Sanskrit original, through Persian and Arabic translations which have likewise disappeared; and the results of their researches and of subsequent investigations are concisely summarized by Sr. Bonilla y San Martín in a most useful preface the only fault of which is that it is too short. The fact that *Sindibād* is mentioned both by Mas'ûdî in the *Golden Meadows* and by al-Madâ'inî in the *Fihrist* proves that *Sindibād* existed in Arabic as early as the tenth century; but an allusion made by al-Ya'qûbî would seem to imply that an Arabic translation was in existence considerably before this date. Perhaps some reference might be expected to Mr W. A. Clouston's *Book of Sindibād* and to Paulus Cassel's *Misleh Sandabar* (Berlin, 1888). It is to be hoped that Sr. Bonilla y San Martín will ultimately expand his conclusions, and furnish us with a complete monograph on the literary history of *Sindibād* and its later developments. Meanwhile, he has edited the Spanish text with a care and skill which deserve warm recognition.

JAMES FITZMAURICE-KELLY.

El Arcipreste de Hita. Estudio crítico. Por JULIO PUYOL Y ALONSO. Madrid: Imp. de la Sucesora de M. Minuesa de los Ríos, 1906. 8vo. 364 pp.

As the supreme importance of Juan Ruiz' contributions to Spanish literature has never been disputed since they were first printed by Tomás Sánchez towards the end of the eighteenth century, it is strange that no special study of his interesting personality and talent should have been published sooner. Sr. Puyol y Alonso has done a most useful work in collecting such biographical data as are to be found, and in disengaging the original from the imitative element in the *Libro de buen amor*.

Everything relating to the life and work of Juan Ruiz is more or less doubtful. He describes himself as 'uno que es de Alcalá,' but Sr. Puyol y Alonso does not think that this statement is conclusive, unless we are prepared to accept the *Libro de buen amor* as strictly autobiographical. However, it is the only information forthcoming, for no weight can be given to the unsupported assertion of Francisco de Torres that Ruiz was born at Guadalajara. In the first place, Torres lived too long after Ruiz to speak with any authority on the point; in the second place, he makes too many mistakes to justify us in thinking him a trustworthy witness; and in the third place, as the historian of Guadalajara, local patriotism blinds him to obvious facts. According to Torres, Ruiz was living at Guadalajara in the year 1410; the probability is that he was dead long before this date.

It is true that we do not know precisely when Ruiz was born. Sr. Puyol y Alonso gives the date conjecturally as about 1283, and this seems plausible. What is certain is that Juan Ruiz became Archpriest

of Hita, that his writings prove him to have been a most unedifying cleric, and that he was imprisoned by order of the Archbishop Don Gil Albornoz. Now, Don Gil Albornoz was nominally Archbishop from 1337 to 1368, but he quarrelled with Pedro I. of Castile, and fled to Avignon in 1351. It follows that Ruiz' imprisonment must have taken place in 1351 or earlier, and, as it happens, we know that the Archpriest of Hita in 1351 was a certain Pedro Fernándoz. The argument may be carried further. A note in the Gayoso manuscript of the *Libro de buen amor* shows that the copyist finished his task on July 28, 1351, while the Salmanca and Toledo manuscripts end as follows:—

> Era de mill e tresientos e ochenta e un años
> fue conpuesto el rromance, por muchos males e daños
> que fasen muchos e muchas á otras con sus engaños
> e por mostrar a los synples fablas e versos estraños.

The *Libro de buen amor*, then, was finished in 1381 of the Spanish Era: that is to say, in 1343. It is clearly the work of a man who has lost his youth, and lost his illusions: that he should, as stated by Torres, have lived fifty-seven years after writing it is incredible.

It has been said that Ruiz was imprisoned from 1337 to 1350; but this, though possible, is mere speculation. Nor do we know why he was sent to gaol by Don Gil Albornoz. The irregularity of his life was apparently not very exceptional for the time in which he lived; the *Libro de buen amor*, part of which was certainly written in gaol, deals disrespectfully with individual members of the upper clergy whom he mentions by name, and it may be, as Sr. Puyol y Alonso believes, that these powerful personages avenged themselves by denouncing him to his Archbishop.

It would be difficult to overpraise the ability with which the author of this monograph sifts fact from fiction, and the patient minuteness with which he indicates Ruiz' literary antecedents. The Archpriest utilizes *Pamphilus de Amore*, the *Bataille de Karesme et de Charnage*, and the best of his immediate Spanish predecessors with the unscrupulous but justifiable freedom of an artist conscious that his touch will transmute baser metals into gold. He has remarkable command of metre and a still rarer insight into motive; he combines the devout spirit with a picaresque fantasy, and he dwells on the irony of circumstances with a gay pessimism which is all his own. We may gather from the *Cancionero de Baena* that he was a favourite with Ferrant Manuel and his contemporaries; he was known to Santillana, and the existence of a fragmentary translation in Portuguese (which I do not remember to have seen noted by Sr. Puyol y Alonso) goes to show that his reputation extended beyond Spain. How he came to be forgotten is inexplicable. But the recent publication of M. Ducamin's critical edition and the appearance of this scholarly volume are signs that Ruiz has vindicated his claim to be considered the most original genius of his age.

James Fitzmaurice-Kelly.

Discours de la Vie de Pierre de Ronsard. Par Claude Binet. Critical Edition by Helene M. Evers. (Bryn Mawr College Monographs.) Philadelphia: The John C. Winston Co., 1905. 8vo. iv + 190 pp.

Ronsard and La Pléiade. With Selections from their Poetry and Some Translations in the Original Metres. By George Wyndham. London: Macmillan & Co., 1906. 8vo. 266 pp.

Miss Helene M. Evers' critical edition of Binet's *Life of Ronsard* is an excellent little piece of work. The original edition of 1586 furnishes her main text, the variants of the second edition of 1587 and the third edition of 1597 being given below. In her introduction Miss Evers shews that Binet had only a very slight acquaintance with Ronsard, and that his Life is mainly based upon Ronsard's poems and has little independent authority. The text is followed by some useful notes, of which the most important is that on pp. 132—135, where Miss Evers makes out a good case for her contention that the term 'Brigade' was never used as a distinctive name for Ronsard's companions, and that the term 'Pléiade' was first used by Ronsard merely as a figure of speech and then applied to the seven poets by his enemies. In Appendix I Miss Evers points out that there is no trustworthy evidence for the meeting between Ronsard and Du Bellay in the inn at Poitiers. In Appendix II she discusses Saint-Gelais's quarrel with Ronsard and Du Bellay, and agrees with M. Chamard that the *Poëte Courtisan* was written, or, at least, re-written, in 1559, and that it is certainly directed against Saint-Gelais. This is also my view.

Had Mr Wyndham come across Miss Evers' monograph, his account of Ronsard's life would have been less impaired by mistakes. His treatment of the sources of the Pléiade's inspiration is hardly more satisfactory, and it is only when he comes to the influence of the Pléiade on English poetry, ground with which he is familiar, that his introduction has any value. The second part of his book consists of selections which are fairly representative of one side, and one side only, of the Pléiade, namely, its love poetry. They shew its sweetness, but not its strength. Marot's well-known rondeau, *Au bon vieulx temps*, is prefixed to the selection, perhaps with intentional malice, for it certainly could not be said of any of the Pléiade poets that their love 'duroit un monde.' The last part of Mr Wyndham's book consists of translations of some of the selected poems. If he fails, as others have failed before him, in his rendering of the masterpieces, his versions of some of the less known poems are excellent. Indeed, the Ode to Cassandre, *O pucelle plus tendre*, is better in the English than in the French. The heading, by the way, on pp. 116 and 220 should run *Le Recueil des Odes retranchées*; the omission of the last word is misleading. Mr Wyndham's attempts to reproduce the metres of the originals are not always successful, for, owing to the radical difference in accent between French and English, the reproduction in many cases is only nominal. The volume closes with a charming original poem by way of dedication.

Arthur Tilley.

La Sylvie du Sieur Mairet. Tragi-Comédie-Pastorale. Publiée par Jules Marsan. (Société des Textes Français Modernes.) Paris: Société nouvelle de librairie et d'édition, 1905. 8vo. lxii + 237 pp.

The 'Société des textes français modernes' has made a good start with (1) a critical text of Amyot's translation of Plutarch's *Lives of Pericles and Fabius*, edited by M. Louis Clement, and (2) Mairet's *Sylvie*, edited with introduction, critical apparatus and commentary by the competent hand of M. Jules Marsan, whose History of Pastoral Drama in France was recently reviewed in these pages. He begins his introduction by fixing the date of the production of Mairet's play as 1626 or 1627. He then points out Mairet's debt to Sidney's *Arcadia* and Barclay's *Argenis*, to the *Amadis* and the *Astrée*, and especially to his immediate predecessors, Racan and Théophile de Viau. Finally he indicates the position occupied by the *Sylvie* in the development of French drama, shewing that with Theophile's *Thisbe* and Racan's *Les Bergerias*, it marks a decided advance in poetical style and artistic composition beyond the unliterary efforts of Alexandre Hardy. For a pastoral play, *La Sylvie* is decidedly readable. Though Mairet has retained all the traditional elements of this highly artificial kind of drama, he has skilfully kept the more unnatural of these in the background, and the result is a romantic play not too utterly removed from the range of real life and human emotion. The text is followed by a learned commentary chiefly consisting of parallel passages from other pastoral writers. In thus rendering *La Sylvie* accessible to students, M. Marsan has performed a real service. It is an additional recommendation that it is excellently printed.

Arthur Tilley.

The Principles of English Verse. By Charlton M. Lewis. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1906. 8vo. 143 pp.

It is a pleasure to welcome Professor Charlton M. Lewis's *Principles of English Verse.* His *Foreign Sources of Modern English Versification* (Berlin, 1898) already gave evidence of his solid metrical scholarship, and the new book more than justifies the ample promise of the old one.

Professor Lewis distinguishes between 'rhythm' and 'metre.' Both prose and verse, he says, following Patmore, are rhythmical, but 'the distinguishing feature of verse is not rhythm, but metre.' 'In every sentence that we utter there are certain words or syllables that are more important than the others, certain syllables which are in the foreground of our thought and which are therefore pronounced with greater emphasis; and our instinctive tendency is to separate those syllables in speaking, by regular intervals of time....In metre, as its name implies, the number of syllables is measured with more or less strictness.' While welcoming

Professor Lewis's insistence on the regularity of time-intervals as a *sine qua non* of rhythm, I do not think that his distinction between rhythm and metre is valid. Had he restricted the condition of regularity of time to verse-rhythm or metre, and had he found a less ambiguous term than metre for the relation of syllables to the regular time-intervals, his theory would have gained in clearness. Some prose does undoubtedly approximate to the regularity of rhythm asserted by Professor Lewis, but the best prose does not. I should prefer to distinguish metre from rhythm by saying that metre is the scheme into which the rhythm must be fitted, this scheme implying that regularity of time-intervals which Professor Lewis calls rhythm. The number of syllables between successive accented syllables is restricted in verse, not necessarily because of any metrical convention, but because it is usually the case that less than one, or more than three syllables will occupy too short or too long a time-interval. There may, of course, be a syllabic convention as well; and in languages where the differentiation of accented and unaccented syllables is weak or where quantity—whether dependent on this differentiation or not—is weak, there will usually be such a syllabic convention to ensure regularity of time-intervals Professor Lewis insists as strongly as either Mr Omond or Professor Wulff, that 'feet are arbitrary and phantom concepts, and this description of the line does not touch the really vital fact about its rhythm, the underlying regularity of its time scheme.' Or again, 'Feet are not organic elements of rhythm. Analysis by feet is like analysis of pictures by square inches.' On page 40, however, he seems to fall into the error of regarding the quantity of syllables and hence the time occupied in pronouncing them as independent of their accent. But surely, the quantity of syllables in English is so closely bound up with their accent that it is worse than useless for metrical purposes to attempt to separate them.

Professor Lewis's explanation of weak stresses seems to me to be the correct one. He holds that if the equal intervals of time are filled up by the proper complement of syllables, one, two, three or whatever the metrical convention may exact, the demands of the verse-structure are satisfied, even though one or more of the syllables, which mark off the equal intervals of time, are unaccented. Although Professor Lewis does not definitely say so, I take it that this is not very different from the contention that the isochronous time-periods, together with the metrical syllabism, are the foundation of verse, the accents marking without originating these time-periods. Professor Lewis, in this connection and elsewhere, protests against the 'common error' of accenting in verse syllables which would be unaccented in prose. It is true that he guards himself by the proviso: 'at all events, those which demand such treatment are comparatively very rare.' This concession, however slight, to another school of metrists, is, I think, unfortunate. Professor Lewis would have been wise to adopt the uncompromising attitude of maintaining that all stresses in verse are explicable on the principles of prose rhythm.

The treatment meted out to 'pause' is not quite so satisfactory

On page 48 we read: 'A grammatical or rhetorical pause marks the end of one sequence of equal intervals of time...and the beginning of another. The pause may be long or short, according to the sense of the context or the caprice of the reader....These pauses may occur anywhere in a line of blank verse.' This is hardly true even in prose. A good author constructs his prose in view of a certain relation of pause and sound. But even if this statement could pass for prose, it is surely impossible to regard, in verse, these pauses between 'rhythmical periods' as extra-metrical. For Professor Lewis, who (p. 10) places these pauses outside the rhythm—as he defines it—of a prose passage, they must be equally outside the rhythm of a passage of verse and hence equally outside its metre. It is not clear whether he regards the pauses between 'rhythmical phrases' (p. 55), as being also outside the rhythm and metre. A sentence on page 28 seems to suggest that these pauses always, or at least sometimes, are extra-metrical. 'When a grammatical pause occurs, it easily fills out the rhythm, as in the third line of this passage:

> But that the dread of something after death,
> The undiscovered country from whose bourne
> No traveller returns, puzzles the will.'

Otherwise, there is some inconsistency, or at any rate, some obscurity. Professor Lewis apparently has in his mind pauses occurring between more subordinate groups of words, still, on page 6 and from time to time, he alludes vaguely to the matter; but nothing is clearly stated. Professor Lewis has done admirable service in distinguishing 'rhythmical periods' from 'rhythmical phrases.' I wish he had gone a step further and differentiated a subordinate 'accentual group' from either. It seems to me impossible to appreciate rightly the problems of metre without taking this further distinction into account. The rhythmical period 'Said then the lost archangel'—whether regarded as prose or verse—would fall, according to Professor Lewis's division, into two rhythmical phrases, 'Said then | the lost archangel,' of which the first is an accentual group, while the second forms two accentual groups, 'the lost | archangel,' or the last syllable might possibly be regarded as forming part of a third. It is tolerably certain that pauses occur between adjacent accentual groups, as well as between rhythmical phrases and periods, and that these pauses, however slight, play an important part in the metrical structure by filling out Professor Lewis's equal intervals of time.

Professor Lewis is less happy in his treatment of line structure, and in applying to it his distinction between rhythmical periods and rhythmical phrases. A line of verse may be a 'rhythmical' or a 'metrical' entity; a line of *vers libres* is a rhythmical entity, a line of fixed length, *e.g.* a pentameter, is a metrical but not a rhythmical entity, in the sense which I have attached to these words. Professor Lewis does not, however, appear to realise clearly the exact relation of metre and rhythm in the case which he chiefly considers, that of blank or rhymed pentameters; and the reason would seem to be that he does not distinguish between

verse that is on the whole syllabic and verse that is not syllabic. This is part of his fundamental error in supposing syllabism to be the feature that distinguishes verse from prose. If verse be syllabic, in the sense in which a French Alexandrine or a line of Milton's blank verse is syllabic, then this syllabism is a metrical element which divides the verse into groups of a definite number of syllables, ten, twelve, or whatever the scheme may require, each group ending with an accented final syllable, which may or may not be rhymed, and thereby marks off the division into lines. But where the verse is not syllabic, as, for instance, that of Shakespeare's later plays or of Mr W. B. Yeats, the division into lines is not marked off by a syllabic element, but merely by the coincidence of an accented syllable with (in the case of the pentameter) the end of every fifth period. The division is apt to be ambiguous, and it is in many cases reinforced by the coincidence of rhythmical division with metrical division, *i.e.*, by a pause at the end of each line. In the case of syllabic verse, the final pause being, as a constituent element in the division, non-existent, Professor Lewis's insistence on the value of the conflict of line and rhythmical period falls to the ground. In the second case, that of non-syllabic verse, the pause, when it exists, being present solely in order to mark an otherwise ambiguous division into lines, the conflict cannot, without a contradiction of terms, be said to exist at all. Where, indeed, no pause reinforces the weak metrical division of non-syllabic pentameter verse into lines, and where unaccented syllables are, as is often the case, allowed to follow the accented syllable of the fifth period, the division into lines is purely arbitrary. Thus unless the division into lines has some 'real value,' rhythmical in the case of *vers libres*, metrical or metrical and rhythmical combined, in the case of regular verse, the verse might as well be printed as prose; but this real value is not, as Professor Lewis supposes, to be found in the opposition of 'the ideal scheme into which the poet's thought is to be compressed,' to the thought which is in 'perpetual conflict' with it. It is true, 'the end of the line, even when the rhythm and the sense of the words run past it, is after all a point of importance,' but it is not the case that 'we are, or ought to be, conscious that it is a resting-place for the rhythm, even when the rhythm does not actually rest there' (p. 55).

I have referred merely to matters of first principles, and Professor Lewis applies these principles with cogency and perspicuity in a series of most interesting chapters dealing with the various kinds of verse. There is much of value in this most suggestive book which neither the metrical student nor the general reader can afford to neglect.

THOMAS B. RUDMOSE-BROWN.

The First Editors of Shakespeare (Pope and Theobald). The Story of the first Shakespearian Controversy and of the earliest attempt at establishing a Critical Text of Shakespeare. By THOMAS R. LOUNSBURY. London: D. Nutt, 1906. 8vo. xxii + 579 pp.

Professor Lounsbury's series of books on *Shakespearian Wars* has reached its third volume. After having dealt with *Shakespeare as a Dramatic Artist* and with *Shakespeare and Voltaire*, he proceeds to discuss, not so much the history of the emendation of Shakespeare's text—that would have been an instructive, though, in some ways, melancholy, record of much misplaced ingenuity—as the history of eighteenth century quarrels and ill humour and bad taste. It is possible that the cause of learning has been advanced by these controversies; it is certain that injustice was done; and it is probable that even yet we do not know the whole truth about the lies, the jealousy and the petty vanities that helped to cloud the reputation of Theobald. Professor Churton Collins's article entitled *The Porson of Shakespearian Criticism*, published many years ago, was a step in the right direction, Professor Lounsbury's book should do much to clear away further cobwebs and a variorum edition of *The Dunciad* would be an effective helpmeet.

Those who know Professor Lounsbury's previous contributions to literary history, notably his Chaucerian studies, will know what to expect in the present volume. It is a painstaking, exhaustive, scholarly survey of Theobald's treatment of Pope, Pope's treatment of Theobald and Pope's and Theobald's treatment of Shakespeare. The introductory chapters, leading up to a consideration of the main theme, are intentionally brief. A more thorough treatment of the earlier period would have been preferable, especially as it has been found necessary to lengthen the work in other ways, e.g. the consideration of later eighteenth century editing has been postponed until a fourth volume of the *Shakespearian Wars* can be published. Of especial value is the chapter devoted to the *Grub-street Journal*, and the manner and methods of newspaper criticism are set forth with first-hand knowledge of the periodical literature of the eighteenth century. Theobald was attacked 'with an activity that never slept and a malignity that never tired,' largely because he had ventured to work in a field wherein some one else had begun to work. This, though 'the labourers are few,' seems to have been deemed then, as in earlier and later times, a sufficient reason for misrepresentation and abuse.

Although Professor Lounsbury works hard to establish the reputation of Theobald, he is not blind to his defects; certain errors of Theobald's edition are pointed out even as certain merits of Pope's labours are indicated in an earlier chapter. It is as a contribution to the literary history of Pope and his circle that the book will be most useful in spite of its somewhat discursive nature. We shall look forward with interest to the completion of the task. The index of eight pages seems to be of quite inadequate assistance to the preceding 590 pages of text.

A. R. WALLER.

Poems. By GEORGE CRABBE. Edited by ADOLPHUS WILLIAM WARD. 3 vols. Cambridge: University Press. 1905–6. 8vo. xiv + 542, viii + 508, xx + 568 pp.

L'édition de Crabbe, entreprise par M. Ward en 1905, vient d'être complétée par la publication du troisième volume. Elle se distingue de ses devancières par certaines qualités qui lui appartiennent en propre. M. Ward, secondé par M. Waller, a multiplié les efforts pour donner un texte correct des œuvres depuis longtemps connues, pour réunir toutes les pièces éparses et divers fragments manuscrits qu'on n'avait point encore publiés. Grâce au concours de M. Lyster, bibliothécaire à Dublin, il a pu retrouver et feuilleter la collection insignifiante, mais très rare, du *Lady's Magazine*, dont les six volumes furent édités, semble-t-il, par trois libraires successivement, par John Wheble pendant le premier semestre de 1770, par Robinson et Roberts jusqu'à la fin de cette même année, et par Robinson tout seul de 1771 à 1775, époque à laquelle cette revue s'éteignit. M. Ward y cherchait, avec une curiosité que nous comprenons et que nous aurions partagée, le mystérieux 'prize-poem on *Hope*,' la triomphante *Espérance* qu'au rapport du fils et biographe de Crabbe, Wheble aurait couronnée et publiée en 1772 dans le *Lady's Magazine*. Comment ne pas s'intéresser, lorsqu'on est éditeur ou critique, à cet heureux début de l'aspirant poète? Malheureusement, en dépit des recherches les plus consciencieuses, l'*Espérance* de Crabbe reste toujours introuvable. Sans doute, il existe, dans le *Lady's Magazine* d'octobre 1772 et de février 1773, deux *Essays on Hope*, mais les vers que le Biographe cite comme terminant le 'prize-poem' ne s'y rencontrent point, et l'on ne peut que conclure à la non-authenticité de l'un et de l'autre 'essai.' M. Ward, cependant, ne voulait pas revenir bredouille de cette chasse à l'*Espérance*: aussi a-t-il cru devoir insérer dans son édition une demi-douzaine de pièces tirées du *Lady's Magazine* de 1772 et signées 'G. Ebbare' ou 'G. Ebbaac.' Elles sont peut-être de Crabbe, mais nous ne leur trouvons pas un fumet poétique des plus délicats.

Beaucoup plus importante est la réimpression intégrale d'*Inebriety*, le premier poème publié indépendamment par le jeune apprenti-apothicaire de Woodbridge, alors dans sa vingt et unième année. Le Biographe, respectable pasteur, nous en avait bien donné d'abondants extraits dans son édition de 1834, et l'étude de ce pastiche réaliste et ironique de l'*Essay on Man* de Pope nous avait montré à quelle école Crabbe avait appris l'art de versifier et dans quel sens il développerait un jour son originalité propre. Mais nous soupçonnions à peine ce que nous révèlent les passages omis par son fils. Qu'il a besoin de s'assagir avant de devenir pasteur, ce jeune médecin grivois, pilier de cabaret, qui tous les soirs observe et partage peut-être l'*Ivresse*, si bien décrite par lui! Le portrait de Fabricio, prudemment tronqué par le Biographe, ne s'inspirerait-il pas de l'expérience personnelle du poète? Car ce n'est rien de nous dire que le pauvre adolescent, buveur par persuasion,

absorbe à contre-cœur la 'potion étincelante.' Il faut voir avec quel entrain et quelle abondance Crabbe nous peint, en près de trente vers, les conséquences inévitables de cette juvénile orgie, l'irrésistible débâcle où Fabricio soudain s'effondre :

> But now, Alas the hour! th' increasing flood
> Rolls round and round, and cannot be withstood;
> Thrice he essays to stop the ruby flow,
> To stem its force and keep it still below;
> In vain his art! it comes! at distance gaze,
> Ye stancher sots, and be not near the place!

Et quels édifiants conseils ce futur ecclésiastique, alors plus près de Wilkes que de Young, ne donne-t-il pas au beau sexe, dans la troisième partie de son poème complètement supprimée par le Biographe! 'Buvez! s'écrie-t-il, buvez, Chloris, buvez, Flavie :

> Drink then, ye Fair, and Nature's laws fulfil—

N'est-ce point la première d'entre vous qui ravit le fruit défendu ?

> Prior to Man, the law she disobey'd,
> And shall she want the Freedom she convey'd ?

Buvez, pour qu'avec les effluves du vin, l'ambition vous monte à la tête ; buvez, pour que, sous la caresse de la chaude liqueur, vos sens soient prêts à l'amour! Souvenez-vous qu'en un jour la femme peut opérer près de mille guérisons, que

> The state of Nature is a state undrest;
> Be reeling Cæsars in a Cyprian mould...
> We fell with you, and you should fall with us!'

A la bonne heure! On ne saurait être plus jeune, et nous remercions sincèrement M. Ward de nous avoir montré Crabbe en train de jeter sa gourme poétiquement.

Là ne se bornent point, d'ailleurs, les nouveautés de cette édition. Une assez longue élucubration en vers blancs parfois inintelligibles y a été publiée pour la première fois en entier sous le titre de *Midnight*, d'après le manuscrit que possède M. Edward Dowden. Une reproduction exacte du texte original de la *Bibliothèque* (1781) a trouvé place parmi les variantes du premier volume ; quelques morceaux—telle la Vision composée à Edimbourg en l'honneur de George IV—entrent enfin dans le cadre des œuvres complètes ; la Préface du *Borough* est imprimée, comme elle devrait toujours l'être, de manière à former un tout et non pas une suite d'extraits ; de nombreuses ébauches inédites ont été publiées d'après des manuscrits achetés par l'Université, ou prêtés par M. Dowden, par M. Buxton Forman et par M^me^ Mackay ; une bibliographie très complète—trop complète peut-être[1]—sert d'appendice au troisième volume, et enfin, ce qui constitue une innovation précieuse, les vers ont été partout numérotés.

[1] Il conviendrait notamment de supprimer, croyons-nous, les n^os^ 42 et 44 (vol. III, p. 561). Il n'y eut qu'une seule édition en 8 vols., celle de 1834 (n° 40), que John Murray n'écoula jamais entièrement.

Mais, à côté de ces éloges, de sérieuses réserves s'imposent. Nous nous demandons d'abord à quel public s'adresse cette édition. Serait-ce aux gens du monde, aux amateurs de poésie, même réaliste ? Alors, que signifie cet appareil critique de notes, de variantes, d'errata relégués à la fin de chaque volume ? Que signifient ces brouillons sans valeur, ces esquisses inachevées, parmi lesquelles la *Deserted Family* seule mériterait d'être conservée ? Serait-ce aux érudits ? Mais alors il nous semble que, pour la commodité même de la lecture et du travail de référence, il eût fallu se garder de rejeter les notes et les variantes à la fin de ces livres. Nous ne pouvons voir sans une insurmontable répugnance cette disposition typographique qui force le lecteur studieux à feuilleter les œuvres d'un poète comme il ferait un dictionnaire. L'érudition, pour être aimable, doit avoir un abord plus engageant. Qu'elle vienne au-devant de nous, et ne nous oblige point à courir après elle. Ses charmes ne sont pas si grands qu'elle puisse espérer être courtisée, sans y mettre du sien. Qu'au bas de chaque page, notes et variantes, confortablement installées et bien en vue, s'offrent à nos regards curieux et satisfaits sans peine. Mais qu'on ne nous fasse pas travailler des bras aussi bien que des yeux ; qu'on s'applique à nous éviter tout effort inutile !

Supposons maintenant que ces volumes aient été destinés aux érudits plutôt qu'aux gens du monde, et examinons-les avec toute la rigueur et le sérieux qui conviennent à la critique des textes. Nous sommes surpris du désordre qui règne en certaines parties de cet ouvrage. Le plan manque de la ferme cohésion que donne une vue d'ensemble du sujet ; l'éditeur, au lieu de dominer ses matériaux, se laisse entraîner par eux, comme un roi trop faible cède aux exigences de ses sujets. Il a des distractions et des incertitudes. Il oublie, dans le premier volume (p. 66), qu'il nous a promis de publier intégralement dans le troisième (p. 388) une *Epître à Mira* dont il cite d'avance un passage inutile. Il ne s'aperçoit pas, en compulsant les documents achetés par son Université, que quatre vers réimprimés à la page 414 du troisième volume font en réalité partie du poème publié *ibid.* p. 432, et qu'après le vers 18, on lit dans le manuscrit :

> The one so worn, as you behold,
> So thin and pale—and yet is gold !
> The passion such it was to prove,
> Worn by Life's cares—and yet was Love.

Il prétend arranger d'après l'ordre chronologique les pièces détachées qu'il a rassemblées dans le troisième volume (pp. 375—442). Mais il n'est pas toujours assez bien renseigné pour le pouvoir faire avec sûreté. Ni le poème intitulé *Infancy* (vol. III, p. 391) et composé le 16 avril 1816[1], ni les vers sur la *Satire* (p. 398), datés du mois d'août 1818[2], n'auraient dû passer avant *Belvoir Castle* (p. 400) de 1812, *Parham Revisited* (p. 414) de 1814, *A Ring to me* (p. 432) de 1813–4, *To a Lady at*

[1] Le MS. daté appartient à M. Murray.
[2] Collection Broadley.

Sidmouth (p. 434) du 22 septembre 1814[1]. Et c'est par inadvertance, sans doute, que l'*Epître* au Duc de Rutland (p. 493), du mois d'août 1784, vient après des ébauches de contes destinés aux *Tales of the Hall* (pp. 444 ss.).

Passons à l'établissement du texte, que M. Ward, en consultant les éditions originales et en se guidant sur celle de 1823, a certainement réussi à corriger par endroits. Le 'just right enough' du *Village* (ed. Murray, 1861, p. 119, col. 1) a été heureusement remplacé par 'just rich enough'; le 'rigid sand' du *Borough* (même éd., p. 177, col. 1) est très justement devenu 'ridgy sand,' et au 'took' des *Posthumous Tales* (même éd., p. 555, col. 2) 'told' a été fort avantageusement substitué, d'après le texte de 1834 et celui du MS. Mais pourquoi M. Ward ne s'est-il pas servi de l'édition de 1783 pour effacer, dans le *Village*, la seule incorrection grammaticale qui dépare encore cet intéressant poème? Au lieu des vers 49—50 (vol. I, p. 121):

> No; cast by Fortune on a frowning coast,
> Which neither groves nor happy valleys boast,

il aurait eu, d'accord avec les exigences de la syntaxe la plus élémentaire:

> No; cast by Fortune on a frowning coast,
> Which can no groves nor happy valleys boast.

Pourquoi surtout a-t-il cru devoir assez fréquemment changer le texte de Crabbe, sans qu'aucune autorité l'y invitât? Prenons les longues listes d'errata, ou plutôt de 'correcta,' que contient chacun des trois volumes. Eliminons tout ce qui n'est que minuties de ponctuation, d'orthographe ou de citations inexactes. Que reste-t-il? D'abord un bon nombre de lapsus que M. Ward croit être le premier à corriger, mais auxquels l'éditeur de 1834 avait déjà remedié[2]. Ensuite une série d'émendations douteuses où M. Ward, à tort ou à raison, se mêle d'améliorer la syntaxe trop souvent défectueuse du poète. Or cette audace ne va pas sans quelques dangers. Car s'il est à la rigueur possible de lire à la page 23, vers 196 (vol. I),

> And senseless titt'rings sense of mirth confound

au lieu de 'titt'ring,' il est beaucoup plus douteux qu'à la page 205 (même vol.), vers 270, Crabbe ait voulu écrire

> E'en well-feign'd passions for our sorrows call,

au lieu de 'passion,' et à la page 28 du deuxième volume, vers 13,

> Pains mix'd with pity in our bosoms rise,

au lieu de 'pain,' le pluriel, en ce cas, constituant presque une impropriété de termes. Il faut, croyons-nous, dans tous ces passages où la

[1] La date ressort de la biographie et du carnet de voyage de Crabbe pour 1814 (collection Broadley).

[2] Voir entre autres, vol. I, p. 20, v. 102, *pleasure's* au lieu de *pleasures*, *ibid.* p. 152, v. 393, *slily* au lieu de *silly*, etc. etc.

grammaire est lésée, laisser à Crabbe la responsabilité de ses fautes[1]. Elles font partie intégrante de son originalité. N'est-ce pas lui qui écrivait dans un vers incorrigible que M. Ward lui-même n'a pas osé retoucher :

> Blaze not with fairy light the phosphor fly?
>
> (vol. II, p. 39, v. 461).

Surtout on doit s'abstenir d'augmenter la culpabilité du poète en le chargeant d'erreurs imaginaires, ou simplement dues à l'inadvertance de son éditeur. Il nous sera peut-être permis de faire remarquer que 'cives' (vol. I, p. 161, v. 139), employé par Crabbe, n'est pas moins anglais que 'chives,' proposé par M. Ward ; que nous préférons, et de beaucoup, le

> Theirs, or the ocean's miserable prey

au

> Their, or the ocean's, miserable prey
>
> (même vol. p. 123, v. 118)

que l'éditeur, au mépris de toute harmonie, et sans aucun avantage pour le sens ou la grammaire, voudrait y substituer. Voyez à quels périls un critique, même compétent, s'expose, lorsqu'il s'engage dans cette voie ! A la page 6 du volume II (ligne 21), Crabbe, écrivant la préface des *Tales in Verse*, s'exprima ainsi : 'In a Poem of this nature, the principal and inferior characters in some degree resemble a general and his army, where no one pursues his peculiar objects and adventures, *or* pursues them in unison with the movements and grand purposes of the whole body,' phrase par laquelle Crabbe voulait évidemment dire que 'personne dans cette armée ne poursuit des desseins particuliers, *ou* que, s'il en poursuit (*or*, if he pursues them), c'est d'accord avec les mouvements et les intentions de l'armée tout entière.' M. Ward, oubliant que Crabbe, malgré ses quelques incorrections, reste un grand écrivain et sait toujours ce qu'il veut dire, rejette cet 'or' et lui substitue un 'but' inutile et presque obscur. De même, en un autre passage (*ibid.*, p. 93, v. 197), Crabbe se propose de décrire le sentiment de fierté que peut ressentir une petite fille, lorsque ses tantes et sa grand'mère lui permettent de jouer 'un écu' au whist avec elles :

> This to the youthful maid preferment seem'd,
> Who thought *what* woman she was then esteem'd—

entendez par là 'quelle femme d'importance on la jugeait être.' Mais M. Ward n'est point satisfait de ce 'what' et préfère un 'that' quelconque, d'une platitude où s'émousse tout le piquant de l'observation psychologique de Crabbe. Prenez encore le vers 344 de la page 381 du même volume, où M. Ward veut changer 'bounded slave' en 'bonded slave.' Ne saute-t-il pas aux yeux que, s'il faut remplacer 'bounded,' ce sera par 'bounden,' et non point par 'bonded' ? Et, pour mon compte, je ne changerais rien.

[1] Sauf, bien extendu, lorsqu'une édition antérieure ou postérieure justifie le changement.

Car il nous paraît évident qu'une règle absolue doit être observée dans l'établissement d'un texte même moderne : n'apporter aucune modification qui ne soit autorisée par des éditions contemporaines de l'écrivain ou par ses manuscrits. Autrement on tombe dans l'arbitraire et nous croyons avoir démontré que le Dr Ward, en d'assez nombreux endroits, n'y a pas échappé. Si nous avons insisté sur tant de détails qui ont pu paraître fastidieux, ce n'est point par esprit de chicane, mais parce que la vraie méthode critique nous semble avoir été parfois abandonnée dans ces trois volumes. Il en résulte que nous ne possédons pas encore d'édition définitive de Crabbe. Celle de Murray est alourdie par des extraits d'articles de revues plus que superflus, et aussi gâtée par de nombreuses fautes d'impression; celle du Dr Ward est encombrée d'un fatras de matériaux, inédits sans doute, mais dépourvus de toute valeur. Nous pensons qu'une édition véritablement critique de Crabbe devrait exclure toutes les pièces que le Dr Ward a tirées du *Lady's Magazine*, aussi bien que *Midnight* et, sauf la *Deserted Family*, tout le contenu des manuscrits trop fidèlement copiés à Cambridge. Par contre, elle comprendrait l'*Inebriety* en entier, les poèmes de jeunesse publiés en appendice par le Biographe en 1834, les *Poetical Epistles* de M. Buxton Forman, dont l'intérêt biographique est certain, le *Candidate* et toutes les œuvres postérieures dans l'ordre traditionnel. Au bas de chaque page de texte, on noterait soigneusement les variantes importantes, sans oublier la première partie de la *Bibliothèque* d'après l'édition de 1781. Et, à l'épreuve, on constaterait sans doute que l'édition la plus sûre pour l'établissement du texte est celle de 1834, quoi qu'en ait dit M. Ward.

R. Huchon.

John Hookham Frere. Sein Leben und seine Werke, sein Einfluss auf Lord Byron. Von Albert Eichler. (*Wiener Beiträge zur englischen Philologie*, xx.) Vienna: W. Braumüller, 1905. 8vo. viii + 194 pp.

Tennysons Sprache und Stil. Von Roman Dyboski. (Same Series, xxv.) Vienna: W. Braumüller, 1906. 8vo. xxx + 544 pp.

Dr Eichler's study of John Hookham Frere is a welcome and readable addition to what has been already written on the subject by Sir Bartle Frere in his Memoir, and by Gabrielle Festing in his *John Hookham Frere and his Friends*. A better title for the book would perhaps have been 'John Hookham Frere und seine Zeit,' for the author is, at times, very discursive in dealing with matter only indirectly connected with the subject about which he is writing. He gives about eight pages, for instance, to supplying a detailed account of other authors' contributions to the *Microcosm*, whereas he devotes a little over three to Frere's five contributions to the same publication. In a similar way, dealing with the *Anti-Jacobin Review*, he assigns ten pages to a

description of articles due, at any rate, mostly to others, and of which none can be definitely attributed to Frere, while he dismisses the one essay mentioned that is surely his—*Meeting of the Friends of Freedom*—in a page. However the space allotted to the last named journal is not to be regretted, as a good deal of fresh light is thrown on the caustic wit and biting satire of Frere's allies and friends. The account given of *Monks and Giants* is most interesting, and the contents of the poem are tersely and incisively told. To judge from this specimen of Eichler's style, it is to be regretted that he did not carry out his original intention of writing a metrical translation of the poem. A chapter deals exclusively with the influence exerted by Frere's *chef-d'œuvre* on *Beppo*. The origin of the assumed influence of the one work on the other is Byron's own statement in a letter to Murray that he was writing *Beppo* in imitation of *Monks and Giants*. Beyond the fact, however, that they are both written in *ottava rima*, there is but little connection between the poems. If, however, one sets out with the determination to discover some influence, it will no doubt be possible to detect a few points of resemblance; but we are inclined to think that, in his desire to justify Byron's words, Eichler has attempted to prove too much.

The volume dealing with Tennyson's language and style is the most recent addition to Professor Schipper's admirable series of studies in English philology. It is dedicated to the late Professor Richard Heinzel, whose method—namely, 'eine gegebene Summe literarischer Produkte, als einheitliche Stoffmasse zusammengefasst, nach verschiedenen Gesichtspunkten zu analysieren und die gefundenen Merkmale mit Belegen zu einer "Beschreibung" zusammenzustellen'—the author has here attempted to adapt to the life-work of a modern poet. 'Auf solche Weise auch nur im Kleinen der grossen Idee zu dienen, deren Verwirklichung Heinzels Methode anstrebte, nämlich der Annäherung der Philologie von einer einseitig historischen Betrachtungsweise an das beobachtend-beschreibende Verfahren der modernen Naturwissenschaft, ist Zweck und Ziel dieses Buches.' With this object in view, Dr Dyboski has written a treatise which adds considerably to our knowledge of Tennyson's art. The author's admiration of the late poet laureate is also gratifying, since he is one of the few English poets who have not, perhaps, received in German-speaking countries the same meed of praise that they enjoy in their own. Part of Dr Dyboski's study, namely, that on the structure of words, had already appeared, it should be noted, in Professor Kellner's *Bausteine*. The book is provided with a detailed table of contents, but unfortunately has no index of words. This deficiency is partially made up for by a rather short 'Glossary,' which is, however, a considerable advance, in many respects, upon Brightwell's *Concordance*.

A. B. Young.

Friedrich Schlegel, 1794–1802. *Seine prosaischen Jugendschriften.* Herausgegeben von J. Minor. Zweite (Titel–) Ausgabe. 2 Bände. Vienna: Konegen, 1906. 8vo. xi + 362 and xii + 431 pp.

Frédéric Schlegel et la Genèse du Romantisme allemand (1791–1797). Par I. Rouge. Bordeaux: Feret et fils, 1904. xiv + 315 pp.

Erläuterungen zu Friedrich Schlegels 'Lucinde.' Von I. Rouge. Halle: Niemeyer, 1905. 8vo. 136 pp.

Friedrich Schlegel and Goethe, 1790–1802. A Study in Early German Romanticism. By J. W. Scholl. (*Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, Vol. xxi, No. 1, pp. 40–192.) Cambridge, Mass.: Modern Language Association, 1906.

Die Weltanschauung der deutschen Romantik. Von Marie Joachimi. Jena: Diederichs, 1905. 8vo. viii + 236 pp.

It would be rash to say that the large and constantly increasing body of special studies on the German Romantic School which have appeared during the last few years, has helped us forward in proportion to its bulk. Yet it lies perhaps in the nature of investigations into this, the most difficult and complicated of all periods of German literature, that what the toilers have achieved cannot be fairly estimated until the burden and the heat of the day are over. It is interesting to observe that the attention of literary investigators—who, for years after the appearance of Haym's fundamental *Romantische Schule* (1870), were strangely apathetic where Romanticism was concerned—has been directed to the period by the general tendency of German intellectual life at the present day. The latest phase of German individualism has recognised the spiritual movement of a hundred years ago as kindred and sympathetic, and the leaders of that movement have become the objects of interested curiosity to those who, under the influence of that essentially modern Romanticist, Friedrich Nietzsche, are pushing out into troubled waters in the search for a new faith. Romantic literature has, in consequence, become the fashion; first editions of the Romanticists command extraordinarily high prices, and the market has been flooded with dainty, but unfortunately not always accurate or scholarly reprints.

The latter reproach certainly does not apply to Professor Minor's admirable edition of *Friedrich Schlegels Jugendschriften*, which was originally published as far back as 1882. Schlegel is forbidding fare to the modern aesthete, who has been attracted to Romanticism by the religious mysticism of Novalis or the enthusiasm of Wackenroder; and I doubt if these two volumes will appeal to a much wider public to-day than they did twenty-five years ago. But to the serious student Professor Minor's reprint of Schlegel's writings in the form in which they actually influenced the literary movement of his day, is not merely invaluable, but indispensable. Here are to be found the chief documents bearing on the construction of the Romantic creed, for which Herder, a generation earlier, had with unfailing intuition prepared the

way. The first volume, which contains Schlegel's writings on Greek literature, defines the attitude of the new movement towards antiquity, a preliminary which every literary movement from the Renaissance to the beginning of the nineteenth century has been obliged to go through, to justify its existence. The essay *Über das Studium der griechischen Poesie*, that 'manierirter Hymnus in Prosa auf das Objektive in der Poesie,' is the best—one is tempted to say, the only—introduction to the aesthetic theory of Romanticism. And in Volume II we see the practical outcome of Schlegel's long wrestling with antiquity, and are able to realise what it was to mean for German thought and poetry. Here, too, are the powerful essays of the *Charakteristiken und Kritiken*. Friedrich Schlegel has not had all the credit he deserves as the pioneer of a new form of literary essay; and we in England, who can place the work of Macaulay side by side with that of Carlyle, are, perhaps, better able than Schlegel's own countrymen to realise how much his initiative meant for the development of Romantic criticism. In these two volumes, then, is to be found, as nowhere else, the key to the 'Romantik,' the gradual unfolding of a revolutionary literary doctrine, which, it is hardly too much to say, was only compassed and comprehended by the brain of one man.

Professor Rouge of the University of Bordeaux has given us two studies devoted to Friedrich Schlegel. It seems almost superfluous to praise the clearness and lucid arrangement of the general treatise; for it is rare that such qualities are absent in French academic work. The method, it is true, occasionally tries the patience of the reader who is in quest only of the author's new contributions to knowledge, and would prefer to be spared the methodical recapitulation of familiar facts; especially as the Frenchman, unlike his German colleague, is unwilling to burden his pages with more references than are absolutely necessary. But even if M. Rouge has not much to tell us that is absolutely new, his finished workmanship, his art of seeing his subject as a whole, and his logical, synthetic mind, have put Friedrich Schlegel's thought and work in a new light. Excellent and illuminating, for instance, are the chapters on 'Anciens et Modernes, Classiques et Romantiques,' although M. Rouge does not seem to me to discriminate clearly enough between those aspects of Greek art and literature which the Germans of the earlier eighteenth century regarded as 'classic,' and those which appealed to the 'Sturm und Drang' and the Romanticists. The strength of the book lies in its admirable generalisations, which will in most cases recommend themselves to the student of the period. Occasionally, M. Rouge errs by excess of generalisation; he shows a tendency to treat Schlegel as he might have treated, say, Fichte or Schelling, as a philosopher with a definite system to expound, instead of as an irresponsible, impulsive genius, who thought, for the most part, inconsequently and illogically, and, as Goethe would have said, 'im Dunkeln,' by flashes of intuition. M. Rouge is, in other words, inclined to attribute to Schlegel a metaphysical outlook on literature which smacks rather of latter-day philosophies than of Romantic individualism.

After this enlightening study, it is somewhat disappointing to turn to M. Rouge's commentary on Schlegel's 'erhabene Frechheit,' *Lucinde*[1]. With the language—for the commentary is written in German—the author would seem to have thrown off just those qualities of conciseness and width of view which might have been as invaluable in interpreting Schlegel's fragmentary novel, as they are in M. Rouge's French treatise. The commentary is extraordinarily conscientious and throws light on many dark places—on some, perhaps, that might with advantage have remained dark—but M. Rouge fails to make sufficiently clear, even in the 'allgemeine Übersicht,' the wider aspects of this work and its signification for the history of Romanticism. He might in this respect, I think, have learned more than he has done from H. Gschwind's suggestive, if not always convincing study on *Die ethischen Neuerungen der Früh-Romantik* (1903). As it is, his *Erläuterungen* are too exclusively microscope work.

The third contribution on my list of recent Schlegel literature comes from America, and is obviously intended to be supplementary to C. Alt's excellent book on *Schiller und die Brüder Schlegel* (1904). Mr Scholl has set himself a hard task; to use a favourite phrase of Schlegel's own, he has undertaken 'to bore the board where it is thickest,' and if he has not been altogether successful, the difficulties in his way ought not to be forgotten. But one feature of Mr Scholl's study makes an unpleasant impression at the outset, and that is his slavery to the methods of the German dissertation; he even carries it so far as to imitate the parsimonious system of referring to frequently quoted books and journals under cabalistic letters. This excessive Germanism is to be regretted for a twofold reason: Mr Scholl does not leave the impression that he has behind him the training and discipline which are essential for success on lines where German scholarship excels, and, on the other hand, I find a few pages of his work which lead me to think that, had he not so lightly parted with his Anglo-Saxon birthright in such matters, he might have given us something better. M. Rouge's French treatise has shown how jealously the French guard their tradition and method, and with what success. Why should America allow herself to be overawed by foreign models, which are hardly, one would think, congenial to the national genius? Mr Scholl has collected his materials industriously, systematically, scientifically; but he works among them somewhat blindly; and one is inclined to doubt at times whether his familiarity with the literature of the period extends far beyond the authors immediately under consideration. He does not seem to be always at one with himself with regard to what constituted Romantic theory and practice; I miss, in particular, what is indispensable for a study of this kind, a clear discrimination between

[1] In view of the misprints (see Rouge's *Erläuterungen*, p. 13) of the most accessible text of *Lucinde*—that in Reclam's *Universalbibliothek*—it is worth noting that the firm of Diederichs in Jena, to which the student of the Romantic movement is already so deeply indebted, has just published a new edition of Schlegel's novel, as well as of Schleiermacher's *Vertraute Briefe*.

Goethe's thought and Schiller's, and an understanding for Friedrich Schlegel's indebtedness to Schiller. Had Mr Scholl, instead of setting out to *prove* Goethe's influence, approached the problem in a scientific spirit of unbiassed inquiry, he would, I am sure, have been less confident in proclaiming Goethe the dominating influence on Schlegel's thought and work. 'Friedrich Schlegel,' he says in his conclusion, 'was overwhelmingly dependent upon Goethe for the subject matter of literary work, materials for aesthetic and moral theory, and for models of imitation.' He has not, however, succeeded in convincing me, at least, that Schlegel was indebted to Goethe for any of these things in an 'overwhelming' degree.

An interesting feature in the reviving study of the 'Romantik' is the fascination this movement, which owed so much to its women, has for women in our time. It would seem as if a finer ear were needed to hear the light vibrations of the Romantic soul than is possessed by the ordinary 'Neuphilolog,' drilled in the too often blunting and numbing school of academic research. The study of Romanticism is little furthered by the routine work—the 'Kärrnerarbeit'—of the universities; investigations into sources and new biographical and bibliographical discoveries leave us very much where we were; and it is significant that a new edition (1906) of Haym's *Romantische Schule* can be brought out and depend upon finding purchasers, without any essential alterations on the first edition of thirty-seven years ago. The spiritual essence of Romanticism is something which, in all but a few exceptional cases, the 'coarse thumb and finger' of the school philology has failed to plumb; it would seem to resist the intrusion of the scientific method. The understanding of the time can, in fact, only be furthered by sympathetic study, by loving penetration, by complete immersion in the Romantic atmosphere. This explains the success of the women who, in recent years, have devoted themselves to the unravelling of the Romantic mysteries. I think especially of Frau Ricarda Huch, one of the most gifted novelists of our day, whose two volumes of studies, *Blütezeit der Romantik* and *Ausbreitung und Verfall der Romantik* appeared in 1899 and 1902, and of Fräulein Marie Joachimi, whose *Weltanschauung der deutschen Romantik* seems to me much the most enlightening contribution to the literature on the Romantic School that has appeared for several years.

Outwardly, Fräulein Joachimi's book is an attempt, not unlike that of M. Rouge, to reduce the thought of the least systematic of thinkers to a system; she discusses the fundamental dogmas of the Romantic faith under the various headings of 'God,' 'The Universe,' 'Humanity,' 'Romantic Poetry,' and the like. But she nowhere presses her system; and these headings, so far from implying completeness, only embrace a small part of the entire Romantic doctrine; she recognises too clearly the 'willkürliche' element in early Romanticism, and especially in so chameleon-like a writer as Friedrich Schlegel, to lay much weight on systematising. She is content to link up disconnected ideas wherever she can. The supreme merit of the book lies in its peculiar combina-

tion of penetrating thought with a feminine sense for the concrete; Fräulein Joachimi has the metaphysical, dialectic type of mind, without which it is hopeless to approach so complicated a personality as was Friedrich Schlegel; but she has also what the average dialectician rarely has, the delicate feminine appreciation for the realities of things; she has that touch of common sense, without which one cannot expect to succeed in solving the Romantic enigmas. The fault of too many of the previous critics of the 'Romantik'—and even Haym is not free from it—is to confuse Romantic spirituality with Hegelian metaphysics; it is the error into which the metaphysical type of mind, nurtured on philosophic method, invariably falls in judging the Romanticists. Such critics overlook the fact that, as Fräulein Joachimi reminds us, 'die Frühromantik bedeutet nicht Krankheit und Mangel an Wirklichkeitssinn in der Entwicklungsgeschichte des deutschen Geistes.' One sees this metaphysical tendency, for instance, exemplified in the most recent contribution to the literature of Friedrich Schlegel, E. Kircher's *Philosophie der Romantik* (1906), a valuable and suggestive collection of essays, but essays in which the author, with aggravating persistence, renders the obscure only more obscure by translating into the abstractions of philosophy ideas that, in the minds of the Romanticists themselves, were tangible facts of experience. To Fräulein Joachimi's fullness of knowledge it is testimony enough that she comes of an excellent school; under Professor Walzel of Bern, to whose labours in the field of Romantic literature we owe so much, she has learned to avoid with fine tact the Scylla of aesthetic vagaries and the Charybdis of the school philology. I know of no one who has laid bare with finer insight and more sympathetic understanding than she, the motive forces of the movement which she admirably describes as a 'Protest gegen kleinliche Interessen, kümmerliche Moral, spiessbürgerliche Ideale, sentimentale Lebensauffassungen; sie ist ein Kampf gegen alle diejenigen, die eng in Vorurteilen gebunden bleiben und dabei sich mit hochtrabenden Redensarten und erborgten Idealen wichtig machen. Die Romantiker wollen die Deutschen tiefer sehen, grösser denken, wahrer fühlen lehren. Deshalb suchen sie alles Leben in Poesie zu tauchen; und deshalb möchten sie die Gründlichkeit der deutschen Wissenschaft durch den fortwährenden Hinweis auf das Unendliche und Unfassbare im Natur- und Geistesleben, auf die Philosophie, vor Kleinkrämerei und Verknöcherung bewahren.'

J. G. Robertson.

Old German Love Songs. Translated from the Minnesingers of the Twelfth to the Fourteenth Centuries. By Frank C. Nicholson. London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1907. 8vo. lx + 196 pp.

In his *Old German Love Songs* Mr Nicholson's aim has been 'to present English readers with a selection from the Minnesong sufficiently varied and extensive to illustrate roughly the nature and

range of the art and indicate the main lines of its development.' This task was well worth attempting, not only in itself, but also on account of the fact that, while the epic poetry of the same period has received a moderate share of attention from English translators, the lyric poetry, in spite of its fully equal claims, has been neglected. Mr Nicholson's qualifications for the task he has undertaken are well above the average; his translations are entirely free from the usual mistakes, and his Introduction contains a reliable and well-written account of the history and the main features of Minnesong and Minnedienst. In choosing between strict adherence to the form of his originals and modification of the form for the sake of greater freedom of expression, Mr Nicholson has perhaps done well to select the former alternative. In some of his translations the fresh simplicity and delicate fragrance of the mediæval poems are inevitably lost, but the reader will at least be able to obtain an idea of the variety and intricacy of form, as well as of the themes and ideas, characteristic of Middle High German poetry. Moreover, this adherence to the original form, together with the closeness of the translation and the simple and natural language employed, do, in many cases, combine to produce an effect not unlike that of the original poems. On the other hand, Mr Nicholson has not always been able to make the matter fit the form without having recourse to such expedients as impure rimes, forced constructions, etc., though it is only fair to say that blemishes of this kind are not very numerous.

The representative character of Mr Nicholson's collection may be gathered from the fact that it contains, in roughly chronological order, 150 poems drawn from all the more important and upwards of 40 of the less known poets of the period, and represents nearly every type of Minnesong. Walther von der Vogelweide is unfortunately only represented by fifteen poems, but it is to be hoped that Mr Nicholson will some day venture to overstep the limits his diffidence has led him to impose on himself, and attempt to justify Walther's reputation more fully to English readers.

F. E. Sandbach.

Die ersten deutschen Übersetzungen englischer Lustspiele im achtzehnten Jahrhundert. Von Jacob N. Beam. (*Theatergeschichtliche Forschungen*, xx.) Hamburg: L. Voss, 1906. 8vo. x + 95 pp.

This book contains a careful and detailed study of the nine German translations of English comedies which, according to Goedeke, *Grundriss zur Geschichte der deutschen Dichtung*, iii, § 200, appeared in Germany between 1737 and 1768. Mr Beam divides the translations into five classes according to the place of publication, and he ingeniously finds some connection, either internal or external, to justify his classification. The list given by Goedeke can, however, hardly be complete, and, as a matter of fact, the British Museum possesses several German

translations of the English plays in question, which are independent of the translations examined by Mr Beam.

The value of Mr Beam's investigation lies in the comparison of the various translations with one another, as illustrating the methods of translating practised respectively by Gottsched and his opponents. The difference may be seen clearly in the translations of Granville's *She-Gallants*, and Congreve's *Love for Love*, the former by J. C. Müldener, the latter by H. E. Freiherr von Spilcker. *Die weiblichen Liebhaber* is a faithful reproduction of the original. The order of the scenes in the English play is carefully preserved; stage-directions are accurately translated; the names remain the same as in English; no attempt is made to nationalise the comedy according to the rules given by Gottsched and carefully followed by his wife and others of his followers. *Der unversöhnliche Vater*, on the other hand, is a 'Bearbeitung' rather than a translation. The scene is transferred to Copenhagen, the names are Germanised, and the play is recast in order to render it more intelligible to German ears and acceptable to German tastes.

Mr Beam's conclusions as to the identity of Johann Christian Müldener, the translator of *The Conscious Lovers* and *The She-Gallants*, are undoubtedly correct. There has apparently always been some confusion as to the name of this author, who wrote under the pseudonym of 'Geander-von-der-Oberelbe.' Rassmann (*Kurzgefasstes Lexikon deutscher pseudonymer Schriftsteller*, Leipzig, 1830) mentions: 'Geander an der Oberelbe, Joh. Christoph Müldener, geboren 1699, etc.' and, in Kayser (*Index Librorum*, etc., 1832) he appears as 'Joh. Ephraim Müldener.' The confusion may have arisen partly from the fact that another author seems also to have written under the name of 'Geander.' There can be no doubt that the translator was Johann Christian Müldener.

Mr Beam is not very convincing in his attempt to establish an earlier date for *Die weiblichen Liebhaber*. He bases his argument on the supposition that Lessing must have known the translation of this play as early as 1748. Albrecht in his *Leszings Plagiate*, vol. iii, has shown that Lessing, when writing *Miss Sara Sampson*, borrowed in two cases from Granville's *She-Gallants*; Mr Beam goes further and makes this English play responsible for scenes in *Der gute Mann* (1753) and *Der Leichtgläubige* (1748), and he infers that Lessing already knew Granville's play in its German form in 1748. But one may fairly ask: why should Lessing not have read the play in English, a language which he certainly knew as early as 1748? As further evidence that Lessing was acquainted with the translation Mr Beam mentions the fact that both Lessing and Müldener have changed the name 'Courtall' to 'Courtal'; but in view of the phonetic alteration Lessing had already made in the English word 'woman-hater' in *Der Misogyn* ('Wumshäter'), the alteration of 'Courtall' into 'Courtal' does not seem to need much explanation.

In the last section of his book the author points out that all the

English plays chosen for translation were the works of Restoration dramatists who wrote under French influence, and that all the German writers of the time, not excluding Lessing, looked at English literature from a French standpoint and judged it according to the standards of French criticism.

JESSIE CROSLAND.

MINOR NOTICES.

In 1887 Mr Austin Dobson issued at the Clarendon Press a volume of selections from the poems of Goldsmith, with a brief but admirable account of the poet, and notes illuminative of the text. This volume is now reprinted in revised and extended form (*The Complete Poetical Works of Oliver Goldsmith*. Edited with Introduction and Notes by Austin Dobson. London: H. Frowde, 1906), and will be a permanent satisfaction to all lovers of Goldsmith. It contains every verse he wrote. The *Threnodia Augustalis*, the Oratorio of the *Captivity*, *Vida's Game of Chess*, five pieces of occasional verse, and some fragments of translation have been added to the earlier selection. The Introductory Memoir is reprinted with a few minor changes of phrase; but the notes are expanded with the tact and appositeness in which none of Goldsmith's editors has excelled Mr Dobson. Specially valuable are the notes in Appendix form; on the portraits of Goldsmith (faced by Bunbury's caricature); on the epithet 'sentimental,' that curious by-product of eighteenth century taste; and two groups of Goldsmith's chief prose criticisms of poetry. Nothing is lacking in this edition that love and learning can suggest; and if Mr Dobson is wise in not intruding critical reflections on the object of his care, he is not the less happy when in a passing sentence he does suggest the value of Goldsmith's Attic style; 'Avoiding the epigram of Pope, and the austere couplet of Johnson, he yet borrowed something from each, which he combined with a delicacy and an amenity that he had learned from neither' (p. xxx).

A. B. W.

The *Globe* plays an important part both in the history of the Romantic movement and in the development of Sainte-Beuve as a critic. Everyone knows with what eagerness Goethe welcomed the arrival, three times a week, of the little paper with its four short pages —'Was aber die Herren vom Globe für Menschen sind'—and how when J. J. Ampère visited him in 1827 he was struck by his youthful appearance, and was surprised to learn from him that all the contributors to the *Globe* were young men. Unfortunately Mr T. R. Davies's treatment of this promising subject (*French Romanticism and the Press. The Globe*. Cambridge: University Press, 1906) is far

from adequate. His introductory account of the *Globe* and its contributors is meagre and incomplete; his description of the meaning of Romanticism, or, as he prefers to call it, the Romantic Tendency, is confusing. But all this might have been pardoned, if the body of his book had been satisfactory. His method—a sound one in itself—is to give short summaries of all the important literary reviews which appeared in the *Globe*. But alas! he has done this in such a way as to make it difficult, sometimes quite impossible, to distinguish between the opinions of the author of the book reviewed, those of the reviewer, and those of Mr Davies himself. On the last page he states his own view as to the position of the *Globe*, and naïvely adds that it 'differs from that of Sainte-Beuve.' The sad part of the book is that, with a little judicious guidance, it might have been made really useful.

A. T.

Dr Malcolm W. Wallace's edition of *A Tragedie of Abrahams Sacrifice. Written in French by Theodore Beza and translated into English by Arthur Golding* (University of Toronto Library, 1906) is a solid and commendable piece of work, creditable alike to the editor and to the University of Toronto, which has published it in a very attractive form. The Introduction contains valuable sections on the life of Golding, the *Abraham Sacrifiant* of Beza, English versions of the Abraham and Isaac story, the relation of *Le viel testament* plays to English versions, and Golding's translation. Then comes the text of Golding's play, and this is followed by notes and by the text of Beza's French play. Various photographic facsimiles of the title-page and illustrations of the 1575 edition of Golding's play are added. To searchers of the bye-ways of Elizabethan drama this book is to be heartily recommended.

G. C. M. S.

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December, 1906—February, 1907.

GENERAL.

Böckel, O., Psychologie der Volksdichtung. Leipzig, Teubner. 7 M.

Edwardes, M., Summary of the Literatures of Modern Europe (England, France, Germany, Italy, Spain) from the origins to 1400. London, Dent. 7*s.* 6*d.* net.

Köhler, W., Geschichte des literarischen Lebens vom Altertum bis auf die Gegenwart, in den Grundzügen dargestellt. I. Teil, 1. Halbband. Gera-Untermhaus. 2 M. 50.

Porena, M., Dello Stile: Dialoghi. Turin, Bocca. 4 L.

Vaughan, C. E., The Romantic Revolt. (Periods of European Literature.) Edinburgh, Blackwood. 5*s.* net.

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General.

Bibliotheca romanica. 23—24, Beaumarchais, Le Barbier de Séville; 25, Camões, Os Lusíadas, III, IV; 26—28, A. de Musset, Théâtre; 29, Corneille, Horace; 30—31, Dante, Divina Commedia, III, Paradiso. Strassburg, Heitz. Each number, 40 pf.

Dauzat, A., Essai de méthodologie linguistique dans le domaine des langues et des patois romans. Paris, Champion. 10 fr.

Friedel, V. H., et K. Meyer, La Vision de Tondale (Tnudgal). Textes français, anglo-normand et irlandais. Paris, Champion. 7 fr. 50.

Rhæto-romanic.

De Curtius, C., Rätoromanische Chrestomathie, VIII. Band. Oberengadinisch, Unterengadinisch. Das 19. Jahrhundert. Erlangen, Junge. 20 M.

Provençal.

Wendel, H., Die Entwicklung der Nachtonvokale aus dem Lateinischen ins Altprovenzalische. Leipzig, Harrassowitz. 2 M.

Italian.

Berchet, G., Le Poesie originali e tradotte, a cura di G. Targioni-Tozzetti. Florence, Sansoni. 1 L. 50.

Caprin, G., C. Goldoni, la sua vita, le sue opere. Milan, Treves. 2 L.

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Duhem, P., Études sur Léonard de Vinci, ceux qu'il a lus et ceux qui l'ont lu. Paris, Hermann. 12 fr.

Le Bourdellès, R., Michel-Ange, Vittorio Alfiéri, etc. (Études italiennes, IVe Série.) Paris, A. Pedone. 3 fr. 50.

Leopardi, G., Scritti varî inediti dalle carte napolitane; poesie, prose e lettere. Florence, Le Monnier. 3 L. 50.

Leopardi, G., I Canti, con introduzione, commento e appendice. Per cura di G. Tambara. Milan, Hoepli. 2 L. 50.

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Wulff, F., En svensk Petrarca-bok til jubelfästen 1304–1904. Haefte 2 (slut). Stockholm, Norstedt. 3 kr.

Spanish.

Granada, Luis de, Obras completas. Tomo I. Madrid, Sucs. de Hernando. 10 pes.

Josselyn, F. M., Étude de phonétique espagnole. Paris, Welter. 10 fr.

Ugarte, M., La Joven literatura hispano-americana. Pequena Antologia de Prosistas y Poetas. Paris, Colin. 4 fr.

Weigert, L., Untersuchungen zur spanischen Syntax auf Grund der Werke des Cervantes. Berlin, Mayer und Müller. 4 M.

French.

(*a*) *General* (*Language, Dialects*).

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MILTON'S HEROIC LINE VIEWED FROM AN HISTORICAL STANDPOINT.

ENGLISH poets who, after the seventeenth century, made use of the heroic line, learnt their art from Milton; Young, Cowper, Wordsworth and Tennyson, to mention some of the best-known, professed themselves his pupils and owed much to him. But though Milton's authority in versification is usually recognized, the rules which he followed in writing verse are still called in question or at least differently interpreted by present-day critics. Indeed, the modern pronunciation of English, not being the same as that of an earlier date, has favoured the introduction of innovations, such as trisyllabic feet, into the heroic measure, in spite of all classical precedents, and many abettors of these recent innovations seek to father them on the authors of a former age. Current opinion on the subject would have us believe that Milton, heedless of all traditional principles with regard to the heroic line, wrote so as to satisfy the ears of our generation, and modern theorists assume they are entitled to scan *Paradise Lost* according to their twentieth century standards of pronunciation, whatever standards may have prevailed in the past.

These are the views of many critics, chief among whom we note M. Ch. Witcomb in France and in England Professor David Masson, the most learned of Milton's commentators. The latter takes it for granted that all English poetry, from Chaucer onwards, should be pronounced in modern fashion and sums up his judgment in these words: 'On the whole it is best to assume that strictly metrical effects are pretty permanent, that what was agreeable to the English metrical sense in former generations is agreeable now[1].' He would have us pronounce in the distinct and deliberate manner adopted by the educated classes who think it vulgar to drop or to contract any syllable, and would thus remove from the text of all previous poets the shortened forms and elisions abhorrent to the present stage of the language.

[1] D. Masson, *The Poetical Works of J. Milton*, London, 1893, Vol. III, p. 215.

Opposed to this school of critics there are others who set store by traditional rules handed down from past centuries and who believe a distinction should be made in reading the works of an early poet and those of our contemporaries. Foremost in this group, which is but indifferently represented in England, is Dr E. A. Abbott, the eminent author of the *Shakespearian Grammar*, whose study of Elizabethan writers and idiom will often be referred to in the following pages. Continental scholars first undertook to compare the different lines adopted in neighbouring lands with a view to seeing whether they were not due to some common source. Their conclusions on the subject thus tend to differ from those of British critics as a whole, who often seem to accept mere caprice as a law of versification in the case of *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained*, and to agree with Dr Masson that 'Milton...but obeyed the mood of his thought and the instinct of a musical ear as perfect and fastidious as was ever given to man[1].' Our purpose is to show that Milton carried on the work begun by Chaucer, Spenser and Shakespeare and regarded the heroic line as an heirloom handed down to him not merely from previous British poets, but from still earlier writers of both Italy and France, who sang the deeds of their national champions. This task demands a careful study of Milton's two epic poems, and also, as a preliminary task, an investigation into the laws of heroic verse in French, in Italian and in earlier English, if we are to detect the true connection between these rude beginnings and our poet's marvellous line.

I.

Many theories have been broached as to the origin of the French decasyllabic line. These we need not examine in detail. It is enough to know that it was used in the so-called 'chansons de geste' about the eleventh century and complied with fixed rules easy to define. The principal rule is expressed in the name of the verse, decasyllable, which implies that it always comprised ten counted syllables. But early poets, computing the syllables by the ear only, regardless of any traditional system of spelling, used to overlook an extra unaccented syllable closing the line or preceding the caesura. Hence arose the hypercatalectic verse and what Diez aptly termed the epic caesura, as in the following instances from the *Chanson de Roland*:

Carles en ad e dulur et pesan*ce*
De vers la tes*te* / sur le coeur li descent.

[1] D. Masson, *The Poetical Works of J. Milton*, London, 1893, Vol. III, p. 212.

This extra syllable, however, always occurred singly in French either at the end of the verse or before the caesura.

With this slight exception the number of syllables in the line remained invariable. We note briefly a few rules relating to the division of syllables in mediaeval French, which we borrow with the accompanying quotations from Professor Tobler's standard work on the subject[1]: (1) Vowels between which a former consonant has dropped out on passing from Latin into French belong to different syllables. Thus *pri-a, ou-ir, jou-er.* (2) Vowels contiguous to each other in Latin, but belonging to distinct syllables, remain distinct in French, unless the first vowel has undergone some serious alteration. Thus *provinci-al, pati-ent, nati-on,* and on the other hand *janvier.* (3) Contiguous French vowels due to a single Latin vowel are merged into one syllable in French, as in *bien, pied, miel.* (4) Contiguous French vowels due to a vowel followed by a consonant in Latin always coalesce (even in the case of three vowels) into one syllable, at least in early French. Thus *fruit, mieux, cieux.*

When a mute *e* at the end of a word in early French stands before the initial vowel of another word, and sometimes even before the so-called aspirate *h*, it is elided as in the following octosyllables: 'Je ne ferai fors courre—Or va' (*Théâtre français du Moyen Age*, ed. Monmerqué et Michel, 1839, p. 110); 'Les sermons et l'église (h)anter' (*Renart le Nouvel*, l. 5150). Similarly *ma, ta, sa* and occasionally the relative and the interrogative pronoun *qui* are elided before a vowel. Indeed, in some poems where traces of negligence are to be found, more than two vowels may coalesce into one syllable as in the line: 'Sour un estang, d'aige i avoit a fuison' (*Aliscans*, l. 13)[2]. Nor was it more the custom for early French poets to avoid hiatus between two words than for present-day writers within the same word.

We pass on from the counting of syllables to the caesura of the decasyllable. The epic line in old French was usually divided by a pause in the sense after the fourth counted syllable, or, as we have just seen, after the fifth unaccented syllable not counted in the measure. Less frequently the caesura might stand after the sixth counted (and stressed) syllable which might also be followed by an unaccented syllable not taken into account in the computation. Thus: 'En une cambre en entre / de marbre bis' (*Aiol*, l. 2146). Rarer still was the

[1] A. Tobler, *Le vers français ancien et moderne*, Paris, F. Vieweg, 1885.
[2] Note, however, that modern editions of the poem often suppress *a* before *fuison.*

caesura after the fifth unaccented, but counted, syllable, as in lyrical verse, or after the same syllable bearing the stress. The lyrical caesura following the fourth and unaccented syllable seldom occurs in epic metre, where it points to carelessness. Here is an instance of it: 'Ma promesse / m'est tournée à faillir' (Maetzner, *Altfranz. Lieder*, III, 11). Lastly, a very small number of lines seem to lack a caesura[1], a negligence condemned by the usage of the best poets. One further peculiarity distinguishes the early French decasyllable from that of other Latin peoples, namely, the Gallic use of one caesura only throughout one and the same composition, whether after the sixth accented syllable, or, more often, after the fourth.

With regard to accent no early writer in any Romance language seems to have made it the main element of the decasyllabic line. But most French words, as a matter of fact, end with a stressed syllable, and the ten-syllable metre naturally assumed on the whole an iambic rhythm which English poets at a later date introduced with its other characteristics. This was demonstrated by M. Motheré in a pamphlet in which he studied the verse of some early French poets and more particularly of Guillaume de Machault[2], from whom Chaucer borrowed the heroic couplet. We may sum up as follows the strict rules of the old French epic measure: there are always in a decasyllabic line ten counted and sounded syllables, two successive lines are connected by final assonance or rhyme, and in the same poem the caesura, mostly placed after an accented syllable, remains at the same place throughout.

Competent metrists are generally agreed that this old French decasyllable was the source and model of the Italian epic line. It is sufficient for our purposes to remark that the Italian line was imitated from the Provençal poets and that the early French decasyllable appears in literature long before the Italian hendecasyllable. The latter, indeed, is nothing more than the Gallic metre with an additional eleventh unaccented syllable. But as the measure thus lengthened influenced in no small degree the English heroic line, we must briefly examine its structure and ascertain its rules. It was owing to the nature of the Italian language, in which most words are accented on the penultimate syllable, that the French metre was regularly provided in Italy with a feminine ending[3]. It is used by Dante in his great epic, by dramatists and later poets, and is regarded as the normal type called 'verso piano'

[1] Cf. *Romania*, VII, p. 334, and M. Gaston Paris's remarks on the old poem *Auberon*.

[2] Cf. his pamphlet, *Les Théories du Vers héroïque anglais et ses relations avec la versification française*, Paris, 1886, pp. 33–36.

[3] Cf. L. G. Blanc, *Grammatik der italienischen Sprache*, 1844, p. 685.

consisting of eleven syllables, thus: 'L' opinione, mi disse, dei mortali' (Dante, *Par.*, II, l. 53). This line, like the French decasyllable, may be lengthened by a final unaccented syllable, thus producing a verse called 'sdrucciolo' (gliding) as in 'Che noi possiam nell' altra bolgia scendere' (Dante, *Inf.*, XXIII, l. 32). And we have a proof of the real identity of the French and the Italian line in the fact that the latter can now and again discard the extra unaccented syllable and reappear in the shape of a ten-syllable metre called 'verso tronco' in Italy[1], as in the following: 'Lo ciel perdei, che per non aver fè' (Dante, *Purg.*, VII, l. 8). If we bear in mind how few words in Italian, owing to the very nature of the language, end with a stress, the presence of such instances in an early classic is in itself an interesting confirmation of the survival of the stricter original form.

The caesuras, however, which in the north of France were fixed in the same place in one and the same poem, began to shift their position in Italian. Whereas French poets avoid mixing, in the course of one composition, caesuras after the fourth accented syllable with those placed after the sixth, Italian authors do not do so and herein follow the lead of Provençal troubadours whose lyrical verse was more irregular in this respect than the older 'chansons de geste' and supplied mediaeval Italy with its earliest models[2]. Soon, indeed, a number of liberties were taken with the measure. We find occasionally a mere pause, instead of the sharp caesura. The accent, too, which precedes the break in the line may be shifted in the Italian decasyllable; it need not fall on the end of a word and it is no longer permissible, as in old French, to add an unstressed syllable before the caesura without taking it into account. All syllables, if pronounced, go to form the total number, as in the following line: 'Al tornar della mente / che si chiuse' (Dante, *Inf.*, VI, l. 1). Hence in Italy the first hemistich is termed 'tronco' (curtailed) like the verse itself[3], if the stress falls on the last syllable before the caesura, as in: 'E pien di fè, / di zelo, ogni mortale' (Tasso, *Ger. Lib.*, I, l. 63). It is termed 'piano,' when the stress falls on the next syllable but one before the caesura, as in 'Che 'l gran sepolcro / liberò di Cristo' (id., *Ger. Lib.*, I, l. 2), and lastly it is called 'sdrucciolo' when the accent lies on the antepenultimate syllable before the caesura, as in: 'S' accordan le dolcíssime / parole'; but this third kind of caesura

[1] Such lines, however, never occur in a careful poet like Tasso.

[2] Cf. F. d' Ovidio's account in the *Giornale Storico della letteratura italiana*, Vol. XXXII (1898), p. 45: 'piuttosto lirica fu la prima funzione dell' endecasillabo nostro...'

[3] See above what was said of the Italian decasyllabic line called 'verso tronco.'

is censured by the best critics and seldom occurs[1]. As a rule, the caesura divides the heroic line into two parts and varies from the third to the eighth syllable. It may not be set after the ninth, although the ninth syllable may occasionally bear an accent, as in 'Che quel imperator che lassù regna'; but one fact stands out in Italian verse, namely, that the decasyllable has discarded the traditional fixed position of the caesura.

A similar conclusion is reached in studying the place of the accents, for the accent, playing but a secondary part in the measure, shifts its position with the movable caesura. The one thing necessary, as Dante himself implies[2], is to have the proper number of spoken syllables, and the only absolute rule in the matter of accent is that the tenth syllable must always be stressed. But since the break in the line chiefly occurs after the fourth or the sixth syllable and one or the other is accented in each case, the Italian hendecasyllabic verse tends of itself to run in iambics and never admits five trochees. Poets are therefore advised to combine the metrical with the accentual stress on the same syllable, and, should these appear to conflict before the main caesura of the line, the word-accent will have to be altered to preserve the iambic rhythm, as in Dante's verse: 'Che la mia Commedía (for the usual pronunciation Commédia) cantar non cura.' Other instances of an alteration in the natural stress are to be found in early Italian writers, such as *umíle* for *úmile* and *soddisfára* for *soddisfarà*, but all such changes are forbidden to later authors except in accordance with ancient precedent[3].

Yet the Italian heroic line allows trochees, though not more than two together, at the beginning, *e.g.* 'Hái di stélle immortali aurea corona' (Tasso, *Ger. Lib.*, I, l. 12), or after the caesura, *e.g.* 'Anche di qua / nuóva schiéra s' aduna' (Dante, *Inf.*, III, l. 120). The latter metrical licence is less frequent in Tasso, who aims at making his verse predominantly iambic.

The chief element in Italian lines being the fixed number of syllables, it is of some importance to know how the syllables should be counted. All are treated as distinct units, unless cut off by elision or merged in the following verse by a combination of the vowels, but none can be dropped out of the measure, as in the early French poets, in the form

[1] In the above instance another, and perhaps a better, caesura, may be placed after the third syllable.

[2] Cf. his statement in *De Vulgari Eloquentia*, II, c. 5: 'Nullum adhuc invenimus carmen in sillabicando endecasillabum transcendisse.'

[3] A similar change (or suppression) of the accent occurs with final monosyllables in Dante (*Inf.*, XXX, l. 87), where we must pronounce *nón ci ha* (instead of *nón ci há*) to make the ending agree with the other rhymes *oncia* and *sconcia*.

of an additional unaccented syllable before the caesura. The usual rule is that two contiguous vowels in the middle or at the end of a word, if within the line, are merged into one syllable[1], even though in ordinary speech they may happen to be pronounced separately, like *mi-o*, *tu-o*[2], *e.g.* 'Così all' egro fanciul porgiamo aspersi' (*Ger. Lib.*, I, l. 21), 'Ch' io cominciai come persona franca' (*Inf.*, II, l. 132). The writer is of course free to divide the two vowels, if he pleases, as in: 'Vid' i-o scritti al sommo d' una porta' (*Inf.*, III, l. 11). This melting of vowels into one another may even occur between two words when a monosyllable formed of a single vowel intervenes. Even then each separate vowel is distinctly heard, though they are all combined into one syllable, as in 'La noja e il mal della passata via' (*Ger. Lib.*, III, l. 32). Of course, should the poet require it, the vowels may not melt into each other, and this nearly always happens when the former of the two bears the accent, *e.g.* 'Così tutta la gente che lì era' (*Purg.*, XXIV, l. 67). There is, however, no hard and fast rule here either.

Lastly, it may be well to note a few poetical licences current among Italian poets. They may sometimes curtail a word, writing *rena* for *arena* or *e* for *egli*, drop an unaccented middle syllable, as in *spirto* for *spirito* or *medesmo* for *medesimo*. Again, but less frequently, they may add an unaccented syllable to a word, as in *naturalemente* for *naturalmente* or *suso* for *sù*, and occasionally alter the final unaccented vowel of a line, to make a better rhyme, as Dante puts *membre* for *membra* in *Inf.*, XXIX, l. 51. Now and then the place of a liquid consonant in a word may be shifted as when *drento* stands for *dentro*, and in some cases the last polysyllable of the verse, especially if a compound, may be split into two parts, the latter being placed at the beginning of the next line, *e.g.* 'Così quelle carole, differente—Mente danzando' (*Par.*, XXIV, l. 16); 'Fece la donna di sua man le sopra—Vesti a cui l' arme converrian più fine' (Ariosto, *Orl. Fur.*, XLI, l. 32). Great freedom is thus granted to Italian writers and, if we take into account how carefully Milton studied their works, we need not be surprised that he should have adopted several of their poetical licences.

[1] This does not apply to cases where the combination would be harsh, as in *Abra|am*, *sa|etta*, or to initial vowels when the accent falls on the second as in *aïta*, *aëreo*.

[2] At the close of the line the separation always takes place.

II.

Although some straggling decasyllabic lines have been discovered in two mediaeval English poems of the early fourteenth century by Dr J. Schipper[1], the fact remains that Geoffrey Chaucer was the first to use this metre in a work of some length, the *Compleynte to Pitee*, which he wrote about 1370–72. In this composition, the measure of which, it would seem, he copied from a French contemporary, and probably from Guillaume de Machault[2], he does not vary his caesuras to the same extent as at a later period. It was after his journey to Italy in 1372–73 and especially in 1378–79, when he had become acquainted with Dante's great epic and the productions of Boccaccio and Petrarch and had perhaps even met the latter poet at Padua in 1373, that he discarded all lighter verse in favour of the heroic line[3] which he treated with Italian freedom. His line, according to one of the most competent scholars, Professor Ten Brink, always contains ten syllables when it ends with an accent, and eleven, if an unaccented syllable is added at the close. The eminent critic does not allow that it ever drops an unstressed syllable at the beginning, or admits of two unstressed syllables joined to an accent in the same foot, or even of an unstressed syllable[4] before the caesura not counted in with the rest. And although the poet at this time shifts his caesuras more often and more freely than before, and does not confine himself to one marked break in the line[5], yet he preserves the iambic rhythm more faithfully than his Italian models[6] and rejects all trochees, save at the beginning of the line and occasionally after the caesura. He makes a frequent use of contractions and elisions, even in the case of words ending with a liquid consonant after a vowel, for instance, making only two syllables of 'fader of,' 'candel at,' etc.[7] With Professor Ten Brink we conclude that Chaucer, who was the first English author familiar with the heroic couplet, was a regular metrist and indulged in but few poetical licences.

Of the three principal elements of the old French decasyllable: rhyme or assonance, a fixed number of ten counted syllables and a strong accent falling on the tenth syllable and on the syllable preceding

[1] See Dr J. Schipper, *Englische Metrik*, 1881, Vol. I, pp. 436–42, and Ten Brink, *Chaucer's Sprache und Verskunst*, 1884, pp. 173–75.
[2] Cf. Prof. W. W. Skeat, *The Student's Chaucer*, Oxford, 1897, p. xxi.
[3] The only exceptions are *The House of Fame* and *Sire Thopas*, written in octosyllables.
[4] See Ten Brink, *op. cit.*, pp. 175–77.
[5] Cf. Ten Brink, *op. cit.*, pp. 178–79.
[6] *Id.*, pp. 182–84.
[7] *Id.*, pp. 153–54.

the caesura, the first two only would appear to be closely connected and originally inseparable. But the accent constantly attached to one and the same caesura soon proved tedious. In the French language it had but little prominence, and what chiefly struck the ears of listeners (since early verse was mostly heard and not read) was the fixed number of syllables and the rhyme. These two elements are consequently also found in the corresponding English heroic line, which in its structure is independent of verbal stress, the latter being still, in fact, somewhat uncertain in a good many Norman words. We need not be surprised, therefore, from the very nature of the case, that throughout a long period, nothing more was required to constitute the heroic measure than rhyming finals and ten spoken syllables.

The decasyllabic metre brought into honour by Chaucer was subsequently made use of by various writers. It is found, without the poetical licences current in Italy, in Thomas Hoccleve and John Lydgate and pretty often (as we might expect from the Gallic origin of the line) in works imitated from the French. Poets in the neighbouring kingdom of Scotland borrowed the decasyllable from Chaucer. It appears in the verse of the so-called 'Blind Harry,' who sang the feats of William Wallace and in the compositions of James I and of William Dunbar.

But, though slightly smoother in the works of Lydgate, the heroic line, as used by the successors of Chaucer, had something harsh and unpleasant during the period of the civil wars. Its true harmony was not revived till the Renaissance of letters in Italy began to influence the rest of Europe. Then it was written with greater care and skill, chiefly by Sir Thomas Wyatt and Thomas Sackville, and soon vied in perfection with the French original.

One further step was needed after Chaucer's time to secure to the English heroic line freedom as well as rhythm. When the Renaissance had turned the minds of men to a closer study of antiquity, the Italians were the first to reject the traditional consonance of verse-endings, thus reverting in some measure to Greek and Latin standards. Incited by their example, a certain number of English poets determined to use the same liberties. First and foremost among them, so far as we know, was Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, and the title of his work: 'The Foorthe boke of Virgill...translated into English and drawn into a *straunge metre*' in itself bears witness to the novelty of his attempt.

Yet the new line, which was destined to such high fortunes, differed from the previous decasyllable merely because it discarded rhyme. Like its predecessor, it numbered ten syllables, counting by the ear. It was

divided by an obligatory caesura after the fourth or occasionally after the sixth syllable, and both the fourth (or the sixth) and the tenth syllables always bore the stress. As the latter usually closed the line, English heroic verse in this respect proved different from the Italian hendecasyllable and showed greater affinity with its French prototype. Lastly, the fact that the even syllables generally received an accent made the line run of itself in iambics, as we noticed before in Chaucer's works, and it was but natural that with the suppression of rhymes the importance of accentuation should have been enhanced in English versification. Although enjoying some freedom in this matter, the early poets as a rule distinctly favour the iambus in blank verse.

Rhyme, however, was only discarded, for the first time in England, towards the end of Henry VIII's reign and the first instance of its disuse does not occur in print till the year 1557. New fashions in literature of course imply a certain amount of national prosperity and learned leisure which had been wanting till then. But no sooner had the Earl of Surrey's innovation come before the public than Thomas Sackville and Thomas Norton made use of it in the earliest English tragedy written according to classical standards, in *Gorboduc* performed before a select audience in 1562. Some years later (1576) George Gascoigne applied the same metre to satire in his *Steele Glas*, intended to hold up to courtiers a faithful presentment of their foibles and follies. No one, however, followed in Gascoigne's steps, perhaps because the blank line had won such popularity on the stage as to restrict its use, for some time at least, to the theatre.

Until the year 1589 no poet had greatly improved the new metre. The early dramatists who wrote after Sackville and Norton, were content with a rather primitive decasyllable the even tenor and uniform caesura of which were apt to prove tedious. It was Christopher Marlowe who, at a time when Spenser's *Faerie Queene* was attracting attention to the heroic rhymed verse, raised George Peele's and Robert Greene's monotonous blank line to a pitch of artistic perfection previously unknown. In his hands it became a thing of beauty, the 'mighty line' praised by Ben Jonson, which swayed the feelings of the London playgoers, inspiring them with terror by its energy and pathos, with awe-struck delight by its stately music. Popular applause at once greeted Marlowe's achievement, and henceforth by common consent, throughout the Elizabethan age, the unrhymed decasyllabic measure was regarded as specially appropriate for the drama.

The reasons for this close connection with the stage are easy to

discover. Rhyme, however necessary it may appear in some languages and for some forms of literature, can hardly be said to suit a tragic dialogue. Once free from these trammels, the heroic line was better fitted to express action while it retained its harmony to the full. The jingle of like endings being suppressed, it became easier for English poets to carry on a sentence artfully from one line into the next, to make a skilful use of the caesura and thus to accommodate their verse to the dignity and circumstances of their heroes. When dramatists had thus learnt the importance of metrical periods running with a majestic and even flow or broken by outbursts of passion, they realized the potentialities of the heroic measure and recognized its special aptness for the stage in its unrhymed form.

Hence it came about that under Elizabeth and James I none but playwrights made a frequent use of the blank line. And it proved so popular that, after the success of *Tamburlaine*, there was hardly a writer who reverted to rhyme for tragedy and none who did met with popular applause.

But if the merits of the unrhymed decasyllable gave a fresh impetus to the drama, the line itself was by the very fact forced to improve. This was chiefly brought about by the dramatic genius of Shakespeare. According to Dr E. A. Abbott, Shakespeare adopts the contractions and lengthening of words current in the pronunciation of his own time. He allows one and occasionally two unaccented syllables after the tenth syllable or more rarely before the caesura and may omit half a foot (*i.e.* an unstressed syllable) at the beginning of the line or after the pause, provided its place is supplied by an interval of silence. Very frequently and with great skill he carries on a sentence from one decasyllable into the next. His caesuras are infinitely varied and suit the changes in the thoughts expressed. That being so, Shakespeare's line may well appear to be freed from the old trammels—and, indeed, sometimes just a little too free[1]—since it has increased the useful poetical licenses, native to the French decasyllable, while rejecting with some previous English writers, both rhyme and the fixed traditional pause.

At the close of the literary period comprised within the reigns of Elizabeth and James I, we thus meet with two forms of the heroic metre sprung from a common source but distinct from each other in structure and use. The older form is the rhyming decasyllable derived, as M. Motheré[2] and others have proved, by Chaucer and his fellow-poets

[1] Such would seem to be the case when the poet drops an unstressed syllable from his line or when he occasionally indulges in as many as twelve syllables.

[2] Cf. his pamphlet published in 1886 in Paris under the title *Quelques mots sur les théories du vers héroïque anglais*, etc.

from the contemporary Gallic measure and chiefly applied to narrative poetry. This was soon adapted in Scotland for the same purpose and for the expression of passionate feelings, and was then divided into stanzas. Such is the form it assumes at the end of the sixteenth century in Spenser's *Faerie Queene* and Shakespeare's sonnets.

The more recent form of the decasyllable is chiefly confined to the stage. It has done away with rhyme and thus given greater play and importance to both stresses and pauses. To judge correctly of the blank line we must pronounce it according to the current use of the Elizabethan age. It admits of short broken hemistichs or of stately periods as best suits the action of the drama. Henceforth thought is not subject to metre, but metre is freely moulded by thought.

Both forms of the decasyllable, however, were in some respects open to criticism. The earlier line, more regular in its even flow, was hampered by many traditional rules and the rhyme itself often proved a serious obstacle to true poetry. The later line, though easier to adapt to any given subject-matter, occasionally bordered on prose in the hands of some dramatists and thus lost something of its tragic power. It was therefore requisite that some commanding poet should set things right by making the laxer decasyllable subject to fixed rules and raising it to a pitch of perfection worthy of a grand epic work. This became the task and ultimate achievement of John Milton.

III.

On reading the lines which Milton wrote in his youth, we notice that he hesitated between different kinds of metre. It would seem from his extant verse that he first composed English poetry about 1624 when he was preparing to go to Cambridge. What he wrote at the University itself hardly reaches a higher level than other undergraduates' attempts and is partly imitated from earlier poets. Milton follows Chaucer's and Spenser's example in his rhymed octosyllabics and decasyllables and, like his models, he occasionally admits a trochee instead of an iambus at the beginning of the line or an unaccented feminine ending at the close. It was in accordance with their precedent, and perhaps also with that of the Italian poets he had just been reading, that he selected the special forms of stanzas which he used in his odes *On the Death of a Fair Infant* and *On the Morning of Christ's Nativity* and also framed his first two sonnets according to the fashion prevalent in Italy, and not according to the inferior standard of the later Elizabethan authors. A few years later (about 1630) Milton prefaced some laudatory

verses to the second folio edition of Shakespeare's plays, thus proving not merely his acquaintance with the dramatic productions of the age, but also his implicit approval of the tragic blank line.

His own versification was undergoing a gradual change towards the end of his stay at Cambridge and after he finally left the University. To this period we must ascribe a number of minor poems distinguished by great metrical variety. Less intent than formerly on choosing an appropriate strophe, he deliberately makes experiments in harmony, as appears from his lines *At a Solemn Music* and *Upon the Circumcision* (written about 1630) and in the fragments he contributed, a year or so later, to the masque of *Arcades*. On leaving Cambridge in 1632, he retired to his father's country seat at Horton, where he gave himself up to the study of ancient and Italian literature without neglecting the formal side of verse. This we notice in his longer compositions *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso*, written about this time and made up of heroic lines joined to octosyllables and hexasyllables, which show how much he inclined in his youth to variety in metre. Milton seems, indeed, just then to have been hesitating between two opposite courses. While adopting the traditional use of rhyme for his lyrical poems he felt the charm of unrhymed verse as it had been used by the ancients and in Italy. He appears therefore to have provisionally chosen a middle path by freely intermingling measures of different lengths, before he finally rejected the 'jingling sounds of like endings.'

The first attempt of the latter kind we meet with in his works occurs in his play, or rather masque, *Comus*, performed in 1634 at Ludlow Castle at the festivities given for the installation of the Earl of Bridgewater as Lord President of Wales. The lyrical parts of *Comus*, such as the songs inserted here and there, are written in lines of various length irregularly rhymed. All that pertains to the action or the speeches, on the other hand, (with the exception of one short passage, ll. 495–512) is in blank decasyllables which hardly ever depart from the normal type of the verse. We notice, indeed, some lines with a feminine ending, the average proportion of these being about one out of every twelve[1], and a very small number of run-on lines. Milton favours a great diversity of caesuras, but he mostly closes his sentences with a full decasyllable.

Having thus asserted his freedom in the matter of versification, the poet found it difficult to put up with the old bondage of rhyming. In

[1] Cf. *Comus* edited by W. Elton, 1896, p. 80. Three feminine endings occur consecutively in ll. 350–52.

his next work, the pastoral *Lycidas* (1637), he mixes like endings rather capriciously[1], and later on, the scraps of verse inserted in his political pamphlets show a strong preference for the blank line or at least for free rhymes. It is therefore evident that when he gave up literature for a time to devote his energy to public business, Milton had already settled what line best suited his taste and felt unable henceforth to submit to the traditional yoke in a poem of any length.

He remained true to his resolve when, towards the close of Cromwell's protectorate, he once more took to verse. Then it was that, brushing aside the prevailing opinion of contemporary authors and, indeed, of most men of culture in that age, he declared the blank decasyllabic metre superior to every other in the language. He deliberately asserted this in the metrical manifesto, as it may be termed, which he prefixed to his *Paradise Lost*. Here, therefore, since he wrote nothing on literary criticism, we must try to discover what he thought of his art and why he was averse to rhyming. This preface gives us an insight into Milton's methods and initiated a fresh departure in English epic poetry; for this reason it deserves our closest scrutiny. He bases his condemnation of rhyme in the decasyllabic measure partly on the authority of the ancients. In shorter compositions, he admits, it may be allowed but in a vast and elaborate work it diverts the mind from attending to the real harmony and has mostly served, he fancies, 'to set off wretched matter and lame metre.' The best Greek and Latin writers, who excelled in versification, never used it. Poets of a later date found rhyming a hindrance to apt and clear expression. It could not but be considered 'a thing of itself, to all judicious ears, trivial and of no true musical delight.'

Milton, of course, sides with these judicious critics, as the terms of his metrical manifesto inform us. It behoves us therefore to keep this preface in mind when discussing the different views of contending scholars as to his epic verse. We have it, indeed, on the poet's own authority that the heroic line contains three principal elements which he calls 'apt numbers,' a 'fit quantity of syllables' and 'the sense variously drawn out from one verse into another.' The poet, therefore, as was his wont, set nothing above true harmony. He insisted on the due number of syllables, thus plainly showing that he regarded this as an important and fixed element of the measure. He does not hint at any possible change in that number, though his mention of the variable

[1] Some eight lines interspersed at irregular intervals in this poem do not rhyme at all.

caesura in run-on heroics would naturally have led him to do so, had his views coincided with those of modern metrists.

His words anent 'the sense variously drawn out from one verse into another' allude of course to the diversity of pauses favoured by the practice of carrying on the sentence from one line into the next. It is the best remedy devised against the monotony due to the recurrence of similar breaks, and the aversion which Milton felt for such monotony appears both in his careful use of the caesura and in his strong condemnation of rhyme, which it is so tempting to employ in end-stopped measures. Consequently in the heroic metre he distinguishes one permanent feature, the invariable number of syllables, and two changeable features, poetic harmony and the different pauses, essentially shifting in nature so as to suit the expression to successive changes of thought.

From this standpoint it becomes easy to understand why the poet, in defiance of contemporary feeling, should have preferred blank verse, even in non-dramatic compositions. From the time when, about the year 1640, he determined to write a work which the world would not willingly let die, he also came to the conclusion that rhyme was both meaningless and tiresome. It was, indeed, the outcome of his own experience and that of previous authors. He had already tried his hand at the freer measure in his Masque of *Comus* (1634), where the line was treated with less respect for traditional rules than in *Paradise Lost.* Another consideration which probably fixed his choice was the fact that he originally conceived his future epic in the shape of a sacred tragedy. Such, according to his nephew Edm. Phillips, was Milton's first plan, and this informant points to *Paradise Lost,* IV, ll. 32–41: 'O thou that with surpassing glory crowned,' etc., Satan's address to the Sun, as part of the original play. The change in his plan did not affect the nature of his verse.

He was also influenced in the matter by classical precedents. The metrical manifesto previously alluded to, expressly mentions the examples set by Homer and by Vergil. We notice too that shortly before undertaking his lofty task, Milton gave a blank line rendering of an ode of Horace, the fifth of the first book. Nor could he fail to remember, as he tells us, how some of the best writers both in Italy and in Spain had already discarded rhyme with the same purpose. Proudly, therefore, and despite the practice of Dryden and other members of the younger poetical school, he resolved to follow in the wake of Greek and Latin writers and to reject the external ornaments due to the invention of barbaric ages.

Besides, even in England, rhymed metre had not in the past reigned unchallenged. Milton with perfect accuracy reminded his readers of the fact that the finest poetry of the Elizabethan period was written in blank verse. Called upon by his publisher, Samuel Simmons[1], to defend his departure from the prevalent practice of the time against his critics, Milton retorted with a triumphant reference to the choicest English plays. He could not have lighted on a more effective apology. It not only vindicates his position, but proves him to have been a careful student of the sixteenth century drama. Nor is it at all improbable that Milton found a fresh inducement to discard the use and jingle of like endings in his wish to rival the wonderfully free versification of Shakespeare.

Whatever precedents he might appeal to as an authority for his practice, the poet, and he well knew it, was introducing an important innovation into the literature of England[2]. He himself terms it, in the preface on metre, prefixed to *Paradise Lost*, 'an example set, the first in English, of ancient liberty recovered to heroic poem from the troublesome and modern bondage of riming.' It had been customary from the Middle Ages onwards to sing heroic deeds in rhyme. The old French 'chansons de geste' were written in verses ending with assonance, Dante's *Divine Comedy* in 'terza rima,' and both Tasso's *Gerusalemme Liberata* as well as Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* in eight-line stanzas. Spenser's *Faerie Queene* also adopted the use of the strophe, and that was almost the only previous poem in Great Britain which could be compared with Milton's bold attempt in respect of language, grandeur of conception and general importance. In fact, up to the year 1667 the blank decasyllable had never been adopted in English for anything but the drama and satire[3]. This our poet applied to epic narrative and endowed with such sublimity and magnificence that it henceforth completely superseded its rival. But although later bards followed his example, we must allow him the credit of understanding to the full the fresh possibilities of the blank line and raising it from the somewhat low standard to which it had fallen on the stage, to the loftiest rank in literature.

By so doing he deliberately broke with the contemporary practice

[1] Cf. D. Masson, *The Poetical Works of John Milton*, 1893, Vol. II, p. 5, 'Fifth title-page.'

[2] Milton's friend, Andrew Marvell, admits as much in the commendatory lines which he wrote for *Paradise Lost*:

> Thy verse, *created*, like thy theme sublime,
> In number, weight and measure, needs not rime.

[3] In this connection it is well to remember that Milton's contemporary, Abraham Cowley, left an unfinished heroic poem, his *Davideis*, in the rhymed ten-syllable line.

in versification. Both his cast of mind and his previous training were in harmony with the older school of poetry and made him, as he has been rightly called, the last of the Elizabethans. While the authors of a later generation were discarding alike sublime subjects and unrhymed heroics, Milton, now long past his youth, but fired with undaunted enthusiasm, held forth in epic strains on such themes as the Creation and the Fall and Redemption of Man. No verse could suit his high purpose better than Ben Jonson's and Shakespeare's grand line. He therefore boldly introduced it into this new province of art, and, with proud consciousness of his far-reaching innovation, calmly set his opponents at defiance in the apparent apology prefixed to *Paradise Lost*. This was, as Addison saw, a fresh departure in English literature and conferred a permanent dignity on the unrhymed decasyllable in Britain.

IV.

If we pass on to the actual study of Milton's verse, our first step must be to ascertain the true pronunciation of English words and their proper accentuation in his own time. For the present study our best documents will be the writer's own works, and we shall mostly rely on words ending the line because of the constant incidence of the accent on the tenth counted syllable. Next to these, in point of certainty, are the words which begin the verse owing to Milton's careful avoidance of two initial unstressed syllables[1]. The rhymes of our author will also now and then give us a valuable clue. Lastly we shall appeal to the common usage of other seventeenth century poets, and lay due emphasis in this respect on the precedents furnished by the Elizabethans with whose compositions and practice Milton was quite familiar.

Strange to say, several obvious facts bearing on the question are generally overlooked. Thus we are liable to forget the evidence afforded by the actual spelling of the age. The same words may be now and again spelt differently in the earlier editions, but in almost every case they point back to a shorter form as universally prevalent at the time[2]. If we take as instances two common terms like 'flower' and 'tower,' we notice that they mostly recur as *flowr, flowre, flour, floure, flouer* or

[1] This, in a few cases, is controverted by Dr Masson (*Milton's Works*, Vol. III, p. 222), whose opinion on the subject we discuss a little further on.

[2] Cf. E. Guest, *A History of English Rhythms*, 1882, p. 177: 'It is clear that the *barbarous contractions* so much inveighed against are not chargeable upon the ignorance of the printer; they form part of a system of orthography deliberately adopted by men of education to suit a particular state of our language.'

towr, towre in *Paradise Lost* (not to mention our present *flower* and *tower*), which leaves a distinct impression on the mind that they must have been spoken as monosyllables. Again, we may refer to the absence of any apostrophe in the genitive case of nouns, *e.g.* 'From *Mans* effeminate slackness it begins,' *P.L.*, XI, 634[1]. Perfectly similar written contractions have been collected from the Elizabethan dramatists in Dr Abbott's *Shakespearian Grammar*, pp. 339–43. With regard to Milton, however, Professor Masson rejects any inference drawn from the *editio princeps* on the plea that the bard was blind when he composed his epic and had to put up with his amanuensis' and his printer's vagaries[2]. And yet, discarding those works which he was unable personally to supervise[3], we need only confine our attention to those earlier ones, which he undoubtedly corrected, in order to find a fair number of characteristic peculiarities. With a view to settling this controverted question, we have carefully studied the first editions of his *Comus* and *Lycidas*. In both of these we constantly came across such shortened forms as *grovling* (*Com.*, l. 53) for *grovelling*, *count'nance* (l. 68) for *countenance*, *adventrous* (l. 79) for *adventurous*, *Hecat'and* (l. 135) for *Hecate and*, *th' Indian* (l. 139) for *the Indian*, *t' whom* (l. 217) for *to whom*, *i'th'* (ll. 282, 301) for *in the*, *tapstrie*[4] (l. 324) for *tapestrie*, *o'th'* (l. 446) for *of the*, *T'inveigle* (l. 538) for *To inveigle*, and, on the other hand, *yee* (l. 331) instead of *ye* as bearing a stronger emphasis, and *the unpolluted* (l. 461) and *the unexempt* (l. 685) because the vowels are not meant to be elided. In the later poem we have noted *forc'd* (*Lycidas*, l. 4) for *forced*, *glistring* (l. 79) for *glistering*, *to th' world* (l. 80) for *to the world*, and *to th' oaks* (l. 186) for *to the oaks*. Why then should we not accept as equally agreeable to Milton's taste the following samples culled from *Paradise Lost* as it was published in 1667[5]: *slumbring* (*P.L.*, I, 203) for *slumbering*, *ris'n* (*P.L.*, I, 211) for *risen*, *i' th' midst* (*P.L.*, I, 224) for *in the midst*, and, conversely, *hee* (*P.L.*, I, 245) for *he* used emphatically, and *fixed* (*P.L.*, I, 206) intended as a disyllable, *th' irrational* (*P.L.*, X, 708) for *the irrational*, but *the evil* (*P.L.*, I, 335) when unelided and *growing miseries* (*P.L.*, X, 715) when every

[1] *P.L.* stands for *Paradise Lost* and *P.R.* for *Paradise Regained*. Both poems are quoted according to Prof. Masson's critical edition.

[2] See D. Masson, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, pp. 161 and 214.

[3] Even in *Paradise Lost* (1667) there is an *erratum* directing the reader to substitute *wee* for *we* in *P.L.*, II, 414, where the pronoun is emphatic.

[4] Cf. similar instances in J. Schipper's *Englische Metrik*, II. Teil, S. 107.

[5] We quote from '*Paradise Lost as originally published by J. Milton*...by D. Masson, 1879.' If some contractions are here omitted in the print (cf. W. Rost, *Die Orthographie der ersten Quarto-Ausgabe von Milton's Paradise Lost*, S. 73), we may ascribe the defect to the poet's blindness.

single syllable is to be heard. These and many other similar cases in contemporary writers show us that we must read the lines of the great epic in accordance with the standard of pronunciation in Milton's time.

Proceeding from the study of written and printed evidence to the actual investigation of the metre as it appears in the poems, we find a number of words now held to form two distinct syllables, treated as one only by our author, and here his practice coincides with the conservative tendency of the lower classes to this very day. Thus, for instance, *bower*, *flower*, *shower* and *tower* rhyme together with the monosyllable *hour* in *Comus*, ll. 920–21, 984–86, in *Il Penseroso*, ll. 85–86, 103–4[1], and in the *Ode On the Death of a Fair Infant*, ll. 27–28. We may say the same of *spirit* and *heaven* then mostly spelt *spir't* (cf. the modern *sprite*) and *heav'n*[2], and of participles ending in *-n*, often met with at the close of a line (*e.g. P.L.*, I, 594, 716, 776; II, 13; IV, 515, 561; V, 541; X, 583, etc.). By a similar phenomenon a *v* may be suppressed between two vowels thus reducing *seven* to *se'en* (*e.g. P.L.*, IX, 63; XI, 735; and XII, 255: 'Seven lamps, as in a zodiac representing The heavenly fires'), *seventy* to *se'enty* (*e.g.* 'The space of seventy years; then brings them back,' *P.L.*, XII, 345), just as *sevennight* is still popularly pronounced *sennight*. So, too, *even* is heard as *e'en* in *P.L.*, IX, 1079; X, 191; XI, 148; *P.R.*, I, 264, and *evil* as *e'il* (cf. Scotch *de'il* for *devil*) in *P.L.*, III, 683: 'Hypocrisy—the only evil that walks Invisible,' and *P.L.*, IX, 697–98 (perhaps, too, l. 864) and *P.R.*, II, 371[3]. The *gh* in *higher* and *highest* does not prevent their contracting into a monosyllable in *P.L.*, VIII, 586; XI, 381; XII, 576, and perhaps in *P.L.*, II, 693; as we surmise from *P.L.*, VI, 114, *P.R.*, I, 139, where these words conclude the line, and better still from *P.R.*, IV, 106: 'Aim at the highest, without the highest attained,' where any other scansion resolves the verse into prose. The same obtains with the terms *being*, used as a monosyllable by Shakespeare[4] and occasionally as such by Milton, *e.g. P.L.*, II, 585: 'Forthwith his former state and being forgets,' and *P.L.*, IV, 483; VIII, 174; IX, 1147, 1155; *P.R.*, II, 114; IV, 460; *saying*, *e.g. P.R.*, II, 104; IV, 394, 541, and *flying*[5] in the line: 'How quick they wheeled, and flying behind them shot' (*P.R.*, III, 323). So too *pillar* would seem to be shortened into *pill'r* in: 'Before them in a cloud and pillar of fire'

[1] Cf. E. A. Abbott, *A Shakespearian Grammar*, 1883, p. 355, and J. Schipper, *Englische Metrik*, 1888, II. Teil, i, S. 108.
[2] Cf. E. A. Abbott, *op. cit.*, p. 345, and J. Schipper, *op. cit.*, pp. 109–10.
[3] Cf. Abbott, *op. cit.*, p. 349, and J. Schipper, *op. cit.*, p. 110.
[4] Cf. Abbott, *op. cit.*, p. 355, and J. Schipper, *op. cit.*, II. Teil, i, S. 108.
[5] See analogous instances in previous poets as quoted in Abbott, *op. cit.*, p. 355.

(*P.L.*, XII, 202 and 203), and in *P.L.*, II, 302, and *reason* into *reas'n* in *P.L.*, I, 248, and VIII, 591. The poet thus took the liberty of using some disyllables as monosyllabic, which he chiefly did at the close of the line.

Nor do these contractions, used in accordance with the practice of his times and frequently met with in popular pronunciation to this day, take place merely in disyllables. The accent being the one really important element in English words, the poet was always free to cut off any syllable which, through its immediate proximity to the stress, was less audible than others, and we thus get *swage* for *assuage* in 'Nor wanting power to mitigate and swage' (*P.L.*, I, 556), *'sdained* for *disdained* (*P.L.*, IV, 50), *'scaped* for *escaped* (*P.L.*, IV, 7, 8), and *'gan* for *began* in *P.L.*, IX, 1016: 'Till Adam thus 'gan Eve to dalliance move.'

A similar licence has been shown by Dr Abbott and Professor Schipper to prevail among sixteenth century poets[1], and Milton merely followed their lead. It would be too long to quote a full list of instances in point. It is enough to state the principle acted on throughout, namely that an unaccented syllable coming just after (as in most cases), or before a strongly stressed syllable, can at all times be omitted. Participles are often contracted in this way as *neighb(ou)ring* for *neighbouring* in 'Of those bright confines, whence, with neighb'ring arms' (*P.L.*, II, 395, and cf. *P.L.*, III, 726; XII, 136; *P.R.*, III, 319), or again *answ(e)ring* for *answering* (*P.L.*, IV, 464; VI, 450; VII, 557), *glimm(e)ring* for *glimmering* (*P.L.*, III, 429), *glitt(e)ring* for *glittering* (*P.L.*, III, 366; *P.R.*, IV, 54)[2]. So too many adjectives ending in *-ous* as *tim(o)rous* in 'Of goats or timorous flock together thronged' (*P.L.*, VI, 857; cf. *P.L.*, II, 117; *P.R.*, III, 241), *num(e)rous* for *numerous* (*P.L.*, VII, 418; XII, 132, 166; *P.R.*, III, 344), akin to the actual French disyllable *nombreux* and *per(i)lous* (*P.L.*, I, 276) which the Elizabethans often reduced to *parlous*[3]. A few terms were pronounced shorter than at present. Such were *vi(o)lence* for *violence* in *P.L.*, VI, 405: 'By wound, though from their place by violence moved' (cf. *P.L.*, XI, 888; *P.R.*, IV, 388), *vi(o)lent* for *violent* (*P.L.*, XI, 428, 471; *P.R.*, III, 87), *pity(i)ng* for *pitying* (*P.L.*, X, 211, 1059), and also, to our mind, *pol(i)tic* for *politic* in *P.R.*, III, 400. Such contractions are to be found both in other contemporary poems

[1] See Abbott, *op. cit.*, pp. 339–42, and J. Schipper, *op. cit.*, II. Teil, S. 114.

[2] Cf. Abbott, *op. cit.*, pp. 351–2 and 355 and J. Motheré's pamphlet *Les Théories du Vers héroïque anglais*, etc. pp. 8–10.

[3] See Abbott, *op. cit.*, p. 342, and cf. Guest's remark, *op. cit.*, p. 173 '[Milton] seems to have distinguished between words that regularly elided the short vowel and those which did so only occasionally, writing *melting* without an apostrophe but *conqu'ror* with one.'

and in the dramatists of an earlier generation. Besides, Milton plainly declared the chief element of the heroic line to be 'a fit quantity of syllables[1]' sounded for the ear, and such a fixed number could not be made out in these cases without contractions. The latter are therefore in accordance with the theory and the practice of the great poet.

As a rule the present pronunciation of English differs from Milton's pronunciation in that he shortens some words. In a few instances, however, he lengthens what is now curtailed. Similar cases occur both in Shakespeare and his fellow-dramatists[2]; they are rarer by far in *Paradise Lost*. But Milton, though he wrote *contemplati-on* in *Il Penseroso* (l. 54) and *legi-on* in *Comus* (l. 603), is more careful in his epic poems. There we notice *senteries* for *sentries* in *P.L.*, II, 412: 'Through the strict senteries and stations thick,' *ministeries* (*P.L.*, VII, 149) for *ministries*[3], *re-al* as a disyllable (*P.L.*, V, 437; VIII, 310; IX, 699; X, 151, 613; *P.R.*, IV, 390), and *re-alty*[4] for *reality* in *P.L.*, VI, 115: 'Should yet remain, where faith and realty remain not.' We see therefore that Milton at a later date was less and less inclined to eke out terms which at present appear in a more condensed form.

With regard to the accentuation of his words, we can detect any departure from our modern pronunciation chiefly by studying the close of his lines. Such changes are more frequent in the Latin portion of his vocabulary, whereas, except in compounds, he does not shift the Teutonic accent. This holds good especially in disyllables. Several of the latter with him preserve the French stress on the end syllable, thus we have *accéss* in *P.L.*, II, 130: 'With armèd watch, that render all accéss Impregnable' (and cf. *P.R.*, I, 492), *advérse* (*P.L.*, II, 259; X, 289; *P.R.*, III, 189), *aspéct* in *P.L.*, III, 266: 'His words here ended; but his méek aspéct Silent yet spake'; *contráte* (*P.L.*, X, 1091; XI, 90), *futúre* in *P.L.*, X, 840: 'Beyond all past example and futúre,' the following nouns: *consórt* (*P.L.*, VII, 529), *consúlt* (*P.L.*, I, 798), *contést* (*P.L.*, IV, 872; IX, 1189; XI, 800), *convérse* (*P.L.*, VIII, 408; IX, 909), *exíle* (*P.L.*, I, 632; X, 484), *impúlse* in *P.L.*, X, 45: 'Or touch with lightest moment of impúlse' (and cf. *P.L.*, III, 120), *instínct* (*P.L.*, X, 263), *insúlts* (*P.R.*, III. 190)[5], probably *procéss* in *P.L.*, VII, 178, *prodúct* (*P.L.*, XI, 683), the adjective *prostráte* (*P.L.*, VI, 841), *surfáce* in *P.L.*, VI, 472: 'Which of

[1] See above, p. 302.
[2] Cf. Abbott, *op. cit.*, pp. 365–87.
[3] But see *ministry* in *P.L.*, XII, 505.
[4] In *P.L.*, VIII, 575 the poet writes *réalities*. He separates the first two vowels in every case, according to the constant practice of the 17th and 18th centuries.
[5] Cf. *convérse* in Dryden's Epilogue to the *Wild Gallant* (l. 20) and *insúlt* in his *Sigismonda and Guiscardo* (l. 668).

us who beholds the bright surfáce,' and the verbs *travérsed* (*P.L.*, IX, 434), *triúmph* (*P.L.*, III, 338; X, 186)[1], and perhaps *vanqúish* in *P.R.*, I, 135. A similar final stress is also found in some Teutonic compounds as *sometímes* (*P.L.*, IX, 824; *P.R.*, I, 367), *tenfóld* in *P.L.*, II, 705: 'So speaking and so threatening, grew tenfóld,' *upríght* in *P.L.*, VI, 627: 'They shew us when our foes walk not upríght' (and cf. *P.L.*, VI, 270; VII, 632; VIII, 260; *P.R.*, IV, 551), and *upróar* (*P.L.*, II, 541; III, 710; X, 479). In the case of the previously quoted words *futúre* and *surfáce*, Mr Robert Bridges (in *Milton's Prosody*, 1894, p. 20) indeed contends that they are accented on the first syllable[2]. But against this assertion we must set the fact that Milton's epic verse never ends in a so-called trochee and that he observes, no less than his fellow-poets of the seventeenth century, the hard and fast rule to which we drew attention at the outset of our study, both in the original old French decasyllable and in the Italian *endecasillabo* derived from it, that the tenth sounded syllable of the line must be stressed. Lastly we may note just a few terms where the accent is nearer the beginning than at present, as in *brígad* (*P.L.*, I, 675; II, 532), *súpreme* (*P.L.*, II, 210), and *thémselves*[3] (*P.R.*, III, 174), but this phenomenon is of very rare occurrence.

Some words of three or more syllables due to Latin derivation also bear the tone emphasis in Milton nearer the end than at the present day. Such are *blasphémous* in *P.L.*, V, 809: 'O argument blasphémous, false, and proud' (and cf. *P.L.*, VI, 360; *P.R.*, IV, 181), *illústrate* (*P.R.*, I, 370), *obdúrate* (*P.L.*, VI, 790; XII, 205), *odórous* (*P.L.*, V, 482), *retínue* in *P.L.*, V, 355: 'On princes, when their rich retínue long' (and cf. *P.R.*, II, 419), *solémnize* (*P.L.*, VII, 448)[4], *volúbil* (*P.L.*, IV, 594), and perhaps *colleágue* in *P.L.*, X, 59. Some other terms having their strong stress closer to the concluding syllable than at present, receive a slight accent on what is now an unstressed part of the word. We thus get *ácceptáble* in *P.L.*, X, 139: 'So fit, so ácceptáble, so divine' (and cf. *P.L.*, X, 855), *áttribúte* (*P.L.*, VIII, 565; XI, 836; *P.R.*, III, 69), *cóntribúte* (*P.L.*, VIII, 155), and *réceptácle* (*P.L.*, VII, 307; XI, 123)[5]. Of course these slight or secondary stresses are to be found in all longer English

[1] Cf. *accéss*, *aspéct*, *consórt*, *exíle*, *instínct*, *triúmph*, in Abbott, *op. cit.* pp. 388–91 and Schipper, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 133–135.

[2] Dr Masson, too, (*op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 216 and 218) declares that *P.R.*, IV, 633: 'Hail, Son of the Most High, Heir of both worlds!' does not contain a single iambus. But here again we think it evident the final stress is on *worlds*.

[3] Cf. Abbott, *op. cit.*, pp. 394–5 (*mýself*, etc.).

[4] Cf. Abbott, *op. cit.*, pp. 390 and 393 for *obdúrate* and *solémnize*.

[5] Cf. in Dryden's works *retínue* (*Palamon and Arcite*, Bk III, l. 453) and *réceptácle* (*The Flower and the Leaf*, l. 61). Cf. Abbott, *op. cit.*, p. 394 for *délectáble* and *détestáble* in Shakespeare.

words, provided an unaccented syllable be left in every case between two successive stresses as in *úndesérvedlý* (*P.L.*, XII, 94) and *ímmortálitý* (*P.L.*, IV, 201; V, 638). It also happens occasionally that verbal endings not usually sounded, such as *-ble* and *-cle* may thus receive a poetic emphasis, as *térriblé* (*P.L.*, VI, 910), *combústiblé* in *P.L.*, I, 233: 'Of thundering Aetna, whose combústiblé,' *irréconcílablé* (*P.L.*, I, 122) and *óraclé* (*P.L.*, I, 12; X, 182)[1]. But the poet naturally remains free either to elide the ending before a vowel, as in *P.L.*, VI, 681: 'Son in whose face invisibl' is beheld' (and cf. *P.L.*, VIII, 135), or to drop the previous unstressed syllable, thus reducing a trisyllable to a disyllable requiring only one accent, as in *ví(o)lence* (*P.L.*, XI, 888), *pí(e)ty* (*P.L.*, XI, 452, 799), and *de(i)ty* (*P.L.*, IX, 885; XI, 149), or in accordance with a later pronunciation to admit but one accent, provided the very next word begins with a stressed syllable, as in the case of *ínfinite* in *P.L.*, I, 218: 'Ínfinite goódness, grace and mercy, shewn,' and so too in *P.L.*, V, 874, and probably *spíritual* in *P.L.*, IV, 585. In this way Milton rendered his line more supple and added a fresh charm of variety to his epic versification.

We cannot blink the fact that English in the seventeenth century was in a less fixed state than at the present day. A contemporary writer could with Milton scan *úndergó* in such a line as: 'Before my Judge—either to úndergó' (*P.L.*, X, 126, and cf. 575), or *ovérpraísing* (*P.L.*, IX, 615), or again *understóod* in 'Nót understóod, this gift they have besides' (*P.L.*, VI, 626) and *overwhélmed* (*P.L.*, XI, 748), but he would hardly dare to take the same liberties as our poet with compound nouns. For in these epics the stress sometimes bears on the second component[2], perhaps because Milton means to insist on the latter, as in the line: 'By ancient Tarsus held, or that sea-béast' (*P.L.*, I, 200), or in the words *love-tále* (*P.L.*, I, 452), *hell-fíre* (*P.L.*, II, 364), *sword-láw* (*P.L.*, XI, 672), *hell-gáte* (*P.L.*, II, 746; X, 282, 369, 415). On the other hand, we notice several examples of a stress on the former component, as in *soúnd-board* (*P.L.*, I, 709), *árch-fiend* (*P.L.*, I, 209), *árk-hull* (*P.L.*, XI, 840), *dáy-spring* (*P.L.*, V, 139; VI, 521), and *frúit-trees* (*P.L.*, V, 213; VII, 311). Should one of the components only be a noun, it will be accented preferably to the other as in the case of *mid-aír* in *P.R.*, I, 39: 'Flies to his place, nor rests, but in mid-aír' (and cf. *P.L.*, VI, 536), and

[1] Cf. Abbott, *op. cit.*, p. 388, the words *comméndablé* and *véndiblé*.

[2] Cf. for an earlier instance of the kind, Shakespeare's *Winter's Tale*, Act I, Sc. ii, 257: 'But that's past doubt, you have, or your eye-gláss,' and among later poets Lord Tennyson's *Enoch Arden*, l. 168: 'For Enoch parted with his old sea-friend.' See too J. Schipper, *op. cit.* II. Teil, S. 40 and 136.

of *mid-héaven* (*P.L.*, III, 729; XII, 263), *nýmph-like* (*P.L.*, IX, 452), *half-móons* (*P.R.*, III, 309), though we also find *mídnight* (*P.L.*, I, 782; IV, 682; V, 778; IX, 159), *star-páved* (*P.L.*, IV, 976), and a few more similar instances. Should the compound be formed of an adjective following an adverb, the former usually takes the stress, as in *P.L.*, I, 510: 'Their boasted parents:—Titan, Heaven's first-bórn' (and cf. *P.L.*, III, 1; XII, 189), *thick láid* (*P.R.*, IV, 343), and *full-blázing* (*P.L.*, IV, 29). If a noun of two syllables is joined in a compound to a monosyllabic noun the accent bears on both, provided the second syllable of the compound is not naturally emphatic, as in *Héaven-gáte* (*P.L.*, I, 326; V, 198)[1], *moúntain-tóps* (*P.L.*, II, 488), *hárlot-láp* (*P.L.*, IX, 1060), and *hárvest-qúeen* (*P.L.*, IX, 842). But if the first noun is a monosyllable, the stress falls on the second, as in the case of *day-lábour* in *P.L.*, V, 232: 'To respite his day-lábour with repast,' or of *work-máster* (*P.L.*, III, 696), *sea-mónster* (*P.L.*, I, 462; XI, 751), *night-wánd'rer* (*P.L.*, IX, 640), *wine-óff'rings* (*P.L.*, XII, 21), *bondwóman* (*P.R.*, II, 308)[2]. Lastly, if both components are disyllabic, each of them receives its proper accent, *e.g. hárpy-fóoted* (*P.L.*, II, 596), as at the present day in contemporary poets.

Milton, indeed, allows himself such freedom in verse that he often changes the stress in similar noun-compounds and even in one and the same compound at short intervals. Thus he scans *Hell-fíre* in *P.L.*, II, 364: 'By sudden onset—either with Hell-fíre,' and yet *Héll-hounds* in *P.L.*, II, 654: 'A cry of Héll-hounds never-ceasing barked' (and cf. *P.L.*, X, 630), *mid-aír* (*P.L.*, IV, 940; *P.R.*, I, 38), and yet *mídnight* in *P.L.*, IV, 682; IX, 159, which makes it easier to accept *midnight* in *P.L.*, V, 667, where some critics take it that the line begins with a double trochee. This may also hold good of *P.R.*, II, 297, where we feel inclined to read, with a change in the accents: 'Of woód-gods and wood-nýmphs. He viewed it round.' So, too, we detect *warlíke* in *P.L.*, IV, 780: 'To their night-watches in warlíke parade,' and *wárlike* in *P.L.*, I, 531: 'Then straight commands that, at the wárlike sound,' and elsewhere (*e.g. P.L.*, IV, 902; *P.R.*, III, 308). With regard to one frequently used compound, *mankind*, this shifting pronunciation is not open to doubt. It is mostly stressed on the second syllable, as in *P.L.*, III, 222: 'And now without redemption all mankínd' (and cf. *P.L.*, III, 161; IV, 10, 315; X, 822; XI, 891; *P.R.*, I, 266, 388; III, 82), whereas the emphasis is on the former syllable in *P.L.*, XI, 69: 'My judgments—how with mánkind

[1] Sometimes, of course, the unstressed syllable may be cut off, so that the compound has but one accent, as in *P.L.*, XII, 52: 'Obstruct Heav'n tów'rs, and in derision sets.'

[2] Cf. J. Schipper, *op. cit.*, II. Teil, i, S. 160–62. Observe that Milton does not accent the last syllable of a compound, if it is unstressed in common speech.

I proceed,' and cf. *P.L.*, II, 383; III, 66, 275; IX, 415; XI, 13, 38, 500, 696. Both stresses (as in the previous instance of *wóod-gods* and *wood-nýmphs*) are found side by side, perhaps purposely, in *P.L.*, VIII, 358: 'Above mankínd, or aught than mánkind higher.' We thus see Milton recur to changes in accentuation with noun-compounds to satisfy his taste for metrical variety.

When, however, he adopts the same principle of freedom in the case of a word which is not a compound, he would seem to follow the example of earlier poets rather than the custom of his own age. He thus scans *except* in *P.L.*, II, 1032: 'To tempt or punish mortals, except whom,' and *excépt* in *P.R.*, IV, 85: 'Before the Parthian. These two thrones excépt,' *fúture* in *P.L.*, XI, 114, 764, 870 and elsewhere, and *futúre* in *P.L.*, X, 840, *importúne* in *P.L.*, IX, 610, and *impórtune* in *P.R.*, II, 404. So, too, perhaps we must emphasize the second syllable of *vanquísh* in *P.R.*, I, 175, whereas the opposite is usual in Milton (*e.g. P.L.*, I, 52, 476; III, 243; VI, 410; *P.R.*, IV, 607). In the same way we notice *consórt* as a noun in: 'Male he created thee, but thy consórt' (*P.L.*, VII, 529), while it is *cónsort* in: 'Since Adam and his facile cónsort Eve' (*P.R.*, I, 51), and cf. *P.L.*, II, 963; VIII, 392; XII, 526. Again we have *supréme* in *P.L.*, III, 319, and *súpreme* in *P.L.*, II, 210, *upríght* in *P.L.*, VI, 270, 627; VII, 632; VIII, 260; *P.R.*, IV, 551, and occasionally *úpright* as in *P.L.*, I, 18; VI, 82. But still more striking are such instances as *prostráte* in *P.L.*, VI, 841: 'Of Thrones and mighty Seraphim prostráte,' and *próstrate* in *P.L.*, X, 1087: 'Repairing where he judged us, próstrate fall' (cf. too *P.L.*, I, 280; X, 1098), *advérse* in *P.L.*, II, 259: 'Useful of hurtful, prosperous of advérse' (cf. *P.L.*, X, 289; *P.R.*, III, 189), and *ádverse* in *P.L.*, X, 701: 'With ádverse blasts upturns them from the south' (cf. *P.L.*, I, 103; II, 77; VI, 206), or *sometímes* in *P.L.*, II, 632: 'Explores his solitary flight: sometímes' (and cf. *P.L.*, III, 32; VII, 496; IX, 249, 824; *P.R.*, I, 367), and *sómetimes*[1] in *P.L.*, VIII, 268: 'Surveyed, and sómetimes went, and sómetimes ran' (and cf. *P.L.*, VI, 242; XII, 97). The same variations occur in the case of less important terms, when they gain some passing prominence from their position in the line. We thus note both *hencefórth* in *P.L.*, V, 881: 'Both of thy crime and punishment. Hencefórth,' and *hénceforth* in *P.L.*, X, 379: 'And hénceforth monarchy with thee divide' (cf. *P.R.*, I, 456), *elsewhére* in *P.L.*, I, 656: 'Our first eruption—thither, or elsewhére' (cf. *P.L.*, X, 959; *P.R.*, I, 458), and *élsewhere* in *P.R.*, IV, 325: 'And what he brings what needs he élsewhere seek?' (cf. *P.L.*, III, 599), *thereín* in *P.L.*, III, 390: 'He

[1] Cf. J. Schipper, *op. cit.*, II. Teil, i, S. 138.

Heaven of Heavens, and all the Powers therein By thee created' (cf. *P.L.*, v, 575; xi, 895), and *thérein* in *P.L.*, xi, 838: 'By men who there frequent or thérein dwell' (cf. *P.L.*, ii, 833; v, 522; x, 483; *P.R.*, ii, 463; iii, 109), *withóut* in *P.R.*, iii, 371: 'By him thou shalt regain, withóut him not' (cf. *P.L.*, v, 566, 615, 714, 803; viii, 35; ix, 791)—a stress which Milton always gives to *withóut* used adverbially, *e.g.* in *P.L.*, iv, 65; vii, 65; x, 812—and *wíthout* in *P.L.*, iii, 385: 'In whose conspicuous count'nance, wíthout cloud' (and cf. *P.L.*, i, 67; ii, 892; iii, 346; iv, 656; vii, 542; viii, 302; x, 995; xi, 45; *P.R.*, iii, 197)[1]. Lastly it may be observed that the poet now and again seems to delight in placing side by side the same word with a double pronunciation[2], as *forthwith* in *P.L.*, iii, 326–27: 'Thy dread tribunal, fórthwith from all winds The living, and forthwíth the cited dead,' or *therein* in *P.L.*, xi, 895–96: 'With man thereín or beast; but, when he brings Over the Earth a cloud, will thérein set,' and he does so even within the compass of a single line as with *sometimes* in *P.L.*, v, 79: 'But sómetimes in the air as we; sometímes,' and with the word *without* in *P.L.*, v, 615: 'Ordained withoút redemption, wíthout end.' This shows his decided inclination towards variety.

Of course the same love of variety often induces Milton to scan in full, words which he elsewhere contracts. This faculty which he borrowed from earlier writers[3], enables him to make *Powers* a disyllable in *P.L.*, vi, 61: 'At which command the Powers Militant,' *being* in *P.L.*, ix, 282, *heaven* in *P.L.*, i, 360; iii, 216; *spirit* in *P.L.*, i, 697; v, 482; vi, 848; *towards* and *toward* in *P.L.*, viii, 257; ix, 495; xii, 296; and to make trisyllables of *luminous* (*P.L.*, iii, 420), *numerous* (*P.L.*, xi, 130), and others. We can tell when these and similar words are to be pronounced in full by the actual rhythm of the verse, as well as by the fact that they are so printed in the poems, as in the case of *different* (*P.L.*, ix, 883), *summoning* (*P.L.*, iii, 325), and *violence* (*P.L.*, xi, 671). The like principle naturally applies to proper names[4]. Thus *Úriél* forms three syllables in *P.L.*, iii, 648: 'The archangel Úriél —one of the seven,' and *Míchaél* in *P.L.*, ii, 294: 'Of thunder and the sword of Míchaél' (cf. also *P.L.*, vi, 202, 411; xi, 552; xii, 466). Whereas *Úriel* is shortened to two syllables only in *P.L.*, iv, 555: 'Thither came Úriel, gliding through the even' (cf. *P.L.*, iv, 589), and *Míchael* in *P.L.*, vi, 250: 'Saw where the sword of Míchael smote, and felled.' So, too,

[1] Cf. J. Schipper, *op. cit.*, ii. Teil, i, S. 137, and Dr Abbott, *op. cit.*, pp. 337–38.
[2] Cf. Dr Abbott, *op. cit.*, pp. 359–63, where similar instances are given.
[3] Cf. Dr Abbott, *op. cit.*, pp. 361–63.
[4] Cf. Dr Abbott, *op. cit.*, pp. 352–54.

Ábrahám and *Béthlehém*, which are trisyllabic in *P.L.*, XII, 152, and *P.R.*, II, 78, become disyllables as *Ábraham* in *P.L.*, XII, 260, 273, 328, 447; *P.R.*, III, 434; and *Béth'lem* (akin to the popular contraction *Bedlam*) in *P.R.*, I, 243; IV, 505[1]. But such a lengthening of words does not merely in all cases serve the purpose of filling out the measure. It is also sometimes made use of to emphasize the meaning. By dwelling on every single syllable of a word Milton adds solemnity to a declaration like the following: 'And miserable it is To be to others cause of *misery*' (*P.L.*, X, 982), or he brings out the force of such an adjective as *perilous* in *P.L.*, II, 420: 'The perilous attempt. But all sate mute,' or of participles such as *marvelling* in *P.L.*, IX, 551, and *pondering* in *P.L.*, VI, 127, or again gives a heroic ring to the phrase: 'Yet only stood Unshaken' (*P.R.*, IV, 421). We detect the subtle art of the poet in a line like *P.L.*, IV, 74: 'Ínfinite wrath and ínfiníte despair,' where the expansion, if we may so call it, of the epithet *infinite*, when repeated, enables us almost to realize the hopeless character of Satan's ruin[2]. Thus does Milton through his very metre endeavour to express the nature of the sentiments he depicts.

WALTER THOMAS.

[1] The only proper names the pronunciation of which differs from that of the present day would seem to be *Dálilah* (*P.L.*, IX, 1061) for *Delīlah*, and *Ázores* (*P.L.*, IV, 592) for *Azóres*.

[2] Notice in the same passage the full scansion of the words 'the *miserable*' (*P.L.*, IV, 73), and cf. for other instances Dr Abbott, *op. cit.*, pp. 362–63, § 476.

(To be continued.)

RABELAIS AND GEOGRAPHICAL DISCOVERY.

I.

THE 'NOVUS ORBIS' OF SIMON GRYNAEUS.

In his fascinating book *Les Navigations de Pantagruel* M. Abel Lefranc has made it abundantly clear that Rabelais followed with a lively interest the great geographical discoveries of his day, and that certain portions of *Pantagruel* which have hitherto been regarded as pure fantasy rest on a foundation of solid fact But can we pursue the subject a little further? Can we trace the actual authorities which Rabelais used for his geographical descriptions? Can we, as has been done with regard to other elements of his great medley, put our finger upon the very passages which he had before him?

In the earliest days of maritime discovery the results of the voyages were briefly recorded in the despatches of Venetian ambassadors at the courts of Spain and Portugal, or by the correspondents of Venetian or Florentine banking-houses. A little later they formed the subject of special letters or other short pamphlets, which were rapidly multiplied by copies and sometimes printed. In one or two instances the record was made by the discoverer himself, as by Columbus and Vespucci. It was not, however, till 1507 that the first collection of voyages, the prototype of all succeeding collections, made its appearance. It was entitled *Paesi novamente retrovati e Novo Mondo da Alberico Vesputio Florentino intitulato,* and was printed at Vicenza. The editor was Fracanzio da Montalboddo, a native of Monte-Alboddo in the march of Ancona, and professor of literature at Vicenza from 1502 to 1505[1]. It is divided into six books, which are composed as follows:

[1] See *Raccolta di documenti e studi pubblicata dalla Commissione Colombiana*, pt. III, vol. II, pp. 209—211; H. Harrisse, *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima*, pp. 96—99; E. Picot, *Cat. Rothschild*, II, 426—429.

i. Voyage of Ca da Mosto (chapters 1—47).

ii. (1) Voyage of Pedro da Cintra to Senegal, written by Ca da Mosto at the dictation of Pedro's secretary (chapters 48—50).

(2) First Voyage of Vasco da Gama, recounted in a letter by Girolamo Sernigi, a Florentine residing at Lisbon when the expedition returned[1] (chapters 51—62).

(3) Voyage of Pedro Alvarez Cabral, written by his pilot in Portuguese and translated by Giovanni Matteo Cretico, secretary to Domenico Pisani, Venetian ambassador to Spain, but employed on a special mission to the Portuguese Court at the time of Cabral's return[2] (chapters 63—70). This was the voyage in the course of which Cabral discovered Brazil.

iii. Voyage of Cabral continued (chapters 71—83).

iv. A reprint of *Libretto de tutta la navigazione de re di Spagna de le isole et terreni novamente trovati.* Venice, 1504. (The only known copy is in St Mark's Library at Venice.) The anonymous writer of this narrative is now known to be Angelo Trevisan, fellow-secretary with Cretico to Domenico Pisani. He took the substance of it, as he acknowledges, from Pietro Martire's then unpublished First Decade[3]. It contains accounts of the following voyages:

(1) First three voyages of Columbus (chapters 84—108).

(2) Voyage of Pedro Alonso Niño[4] (chapters 109—111).

(3) Voyage of Vicente Yañez Pinzon (chapters 112, 113).

v. Third voyage of Vespucci, described in a letter to Lorenzo di Pierfrancesco de' Medici (grandson of Cosimo's brother). A re-translation into Venetian dialect from Fra Giocondo's Latin version of the original Italian (chapters 114—124).

vi. (1) Letter from Cretico to the Doge Leonardo Loredan giving an account, similar to that contained in Books II and III, of Cabral's voyage[5] (chapter 125).

(2) Letter from some merchants in Spain to their correspondents in Florence and Venice describing a treaty between the King of Portugal and the Zamorin of Calicut (chapter 126).

(3) Letter from Pietro Pasqualigo (Pisani's colleague in the special

[1] See E. G. Ravenstein, *A Journal of the First Voyage of Vasco da Gama* (Hakluyt Society), 1898.
[2] *Comm. Colomb.*, pt. III, vol. I, p. 83.
[3] *Comm. Colomb.*, pt. III, vol. II, p. 171.
[4] Here wrongly called Negro.
[5] *Comm. Colomb.*, pt. III, vol. I, p. 43.

mission to Portugal, and his successor as ambassador to Spain) to his brothers relating the recent arrival at Lisbon of one of Cortereal's caravels from Labrador (chapter 127). This was the voyage from which Cortereal himself never returned.

(4) Letter from Giovanni Francesco Affaitadi (here called Francesco de la Saita), a merchant residing at Lisbon, to Pasqualigo, concerning the expedition of João da Nova, the discoverer of St Helena (he is not mentioned by name), to the Malabar coast (chapter 128).

(5) An account of Calicut, Carangore, and other places on the west coast of India, from the report of a Nestorian priest, named Joseph, who had come to Portugal with Cabral (chapters 129—142).

The *Paesi novamente retrovati* had a great success. Fresh editions were published at Milan in 1508[1], 1512, and 1519, and at Venice in 1517 and 1521. It was translated into German and French, and of the French translation there were six editions. More important for our present purpose is the Latin translation, made by Archangelo Madrignano, Abbot of a Cistercian monastery near Milan, and afterwards bishop of Abelli in the kingdom of Naples. It was printed at Milan in 1508 under the title of *Itinerarium Portugallensium e Lusitania in Indiam et inde in Occidentem et demum in Aquilonem.* It is full of mistakes, especially in the matter of dates.

The popularity of the *Paesi novamente retrovati* with the prominence given to Vespucci's name on its title-page—in the French version, which is entitled *Le Nouveau Monde et Navigations faites par Emeric de Vespuce Florentin,* it is even more prominent—no doubt greatly contributed to the spread of Vespucci's name and to the adoption of the proposal made by Martin Waldseemüller in his *Cosmographiae Introductio,* of which several editions were printed at Saint-Dié in Lorraine in a few months (1507), and embodied by him in the globe and map which he published in the same year, that the New World (meaning thereby the northern part of South America) should be called after Vespucci. Moreover the Latin version of Vespucci's letter to Lorenzo de' Medici had obtained a far wider circulation than any other narrative of recent geographical discovery. Under the title of *Mundus Novus* it had been printed fourteen times during the years 1503—1505, in Italy, in France (five times) and in Germany[2], and it had been translated into French and German and back into Italian.

[1] This is far superior to the original edition from a typographical point of view.

[2] Only two of these editions are dated. See E. Picot in *Cat. Rothschild,* II, 423, for a discussion of the question as to whether it was originally printed at Paris or Venice.

The next great collection of voyages is the Latin one generally known as the *Novus Orbis* of Simon Grynaeus. It was published at Basle in 1532, the full title being *Novus orbis regionum ac insularum veteribus incognitarum una cum tabella cosmographica et aliquot aliis consimilis argumenti libellis quorum omnium catalogus sequenti pagina patebit.* The real compiler and editor of the work was a German antiquary named Johann Huttich, Grynaeus merely contributing a preface. The map was the work of Sebastian Münster, who also furnished an introduction[1]. The first part of the book is a reproduction of Madrignano's Latin version of the *Paesi novamente retrovati*, the mistakes of which it perpetuates. Then follow ten new pieces, all of which, except the second, had already appeared in print. They are as follows:

1. A Latin version of Vespucci's letter to Piero Soderini, Gonfalonier of Florence, giving an account of his four voyages (first printed in 1507 as an appendix to Waldseemüller's *Cosmographiae Introductio*)[2].

2. Letter from King Manuel of Portugal to Leo X relating the conquest of Malacca and the relief of Goa by Albuquerque[3].

3. Madrignano's Latin translation of the *Itinerario* of Ludovico di Varthema, here called Ludovicus Romanus patritius. The original work was printed at Rome in 1510, and the Latin version at Milan in 1511. The Italian edition was reprinted at Venice in 1517, 1518, 1520 and 1522, and at Milan in 1519 and 1523.

4. A description of the Holy Land by a German Dominican of the thirteenth century, named Brocardus, who spent ten years in the monastery at Mount Sion. It was first printed at Lubeck in 1475 as part of the *Rudimentum Noviciorum*[4], and separately at Venice in 1519.

5. A Latin version of the travels of Marco Polo. According to Yule it is a translation at fifth hand and utterly worthless as a text. It certainly differs considerably from the fourteenth century Latin version, made from the original French through an Italian

[1] The map is wanting in many copies.

[2] The original letter was printed, probably in 1505, under the title of *Lettera di Americo Vespucci delle isole novamente trovate in quatro suoi viaggi.* A French version, printed about the same time, was sent to René, Duke of Lorraine, who had it translated into Latin, the translator altering the heading of the letter so as to make it appear that it was addressed to the Duke instead of to Soderini.

[3] I can find no trace of this having appeared in print before. It is included in the *Chronicon Citizense* of Paul Lange, a German Benedictine who died about 1536, but this remained in manuscript till it was printed by Pistorius in his *Scriptores Germanici* in 1583.

[4] The well-known *Mer des histoires* is a translation of this.

translation by Fra Pipino. This was first printed by Gerard Leeuw at Gouda in 1483 or 1484[1].

6. A Latin version of the travels of Hayton the Armenian (Hetoum, Prince of Gorigos), edited by Menrad Molther and first printed at Hagenau in 1529. Hayton's narrative, like Marco Polo's, was originally written in French at his dictation by Nicolas Falcon, who afterwards translated it into Latin. It was this Latin version which Molther edited. He has corrupted Falcon's name to Salconi. In the same year there was published at Paris under the title of *L'histoire merveilleuse*, etc., a French translation of Falcon's version made in the fourteenth century by Jean Le Long of Yypres. There were also incorrect reproductions of the original French narrative under the title of *Les fleurs des histoires de la terre Dorient*[2].

7. A description of Russia by Matthias of Miechow, a Polish physician, first printed at Cracow in 1517 under the title of *Tractatus de duabus Sarmatiis Asiana et Europiana et de contentis in eis.*

8. Another description of Russia by Paolo Giovio based on the information of an ambassador from Basil the Great to Pope Clement VII, first printed at Rome in 1525 under the title of *Pauli Iovii Novocomensis libellus de legatione Basilii magni, principis Moschoviae ad Clementem VII. Pont. Max.*

9. A summary of Peter Martyr's Fourth Decade, first printed at Basle in 1521 under the title of *De nuper sub D. Carolo repertis insulis simulque incolarum moribus R. Petri Martyris Enchiridion.*

10. An account of the antiquities of Prussia by Erasmus Stella, a physician of Leipsic, first printed at Basle in 1510 under the title of *De Borussiae antiquitatibus libri II.* Stella died in 1521. His name probably refers to his father's trade of saddler and wheelwright (Stellmacher)[3].

The *Novus Orbis* appeared in March 1532. In the following October the well-known Paris publisher and bookseller, Galliot Du Pré, issued a reprint of it, substituting for Münster's map a much superior one by Oronce Finé, the Royal Professor of Mathematics. In 1537 another edition was published at Basle[4]. It included an additional treatise, the

[1] Not at Antwerp in 1485, as is commonly stated. See R. Proctor, *Index to the early printed books in the British Museum.* There are three copies in the British Museum and one in the Cambridge University Library.

[2] See *Histoire littéraire*, xxv, 479.

[3] See Zedler, *Universal Lexicon.*

[4] Grolier's copy of this edition is in the Cambridge University Library.

account of Magellan's Voyage by Maximilian Transylvanus, contained in a letter to his father, the Archbishop of Salzburg. It was first printed at Cologne in 1523.

I have described the contents of the *Novus Orbis* with this degree of particularity, because it was a book which Rabelais undoubtedly used. It will be well to make this evident at once, by putting side by side his account of Pantagruel's first voyage and a passage from Sebastian Münster's preface:

Primum itaque cum Hispani in Indiam traiecturi sint, petunt *Portum sanctum, Mederam, et* septem *Canarias insulas*, quae olim Fortunatae dictae sunt...Hinc navigatur ad *Caput album*, portum continentis Africae...Relicto Capite albo et insulis adiacentibus...venitur ad regnum *Senegae*...Haud longe ab ora huius fluminis est *Caput viride*...Relicto Capite viridi ductore Austro pervenitur ad ostium *fluvii Gambrae*...Hinc navigantibus offertur caput *Sagres*, ac deinde transito *regno Meli* pervenitur ad *caput* Bonae spei, quod corrupte et Hispanice *De bona sperantza* quidam appellant... Nam hinc navis sensim redit versus aequatorem, ubi scilicet est *regnum Melindae.*

Ils...prindrent la haulte mer, et en briefs jours, passans par porto sancto et par Medere, firent scalle es isles de Canarre.

De la partans passerent par Cap blanco, par Senege, par Cap virido,

par Gambre, par Sagres, par Melli,

par le Cap de bona sperantza, et firent scalle au royaulme de Melinde.

It will be noticed that Rabelais adheres very closely to his authority, using the strange form *Cap virido* and spelling *sperantza* in exactly the same way. He continues his narrative as follows:

De la partans, feirent voille au vent de la transmontane, passans par Meden, par Uti, par Udem, par Gelasim, par les isles des Phees, et jouxte le royaulme de Achorie, finalement arrivent au port de Utopie.

Here we seem to have left real countries for the land of pure fantasy, and the names of Achorie and Utopie are obviously borrowed from Sir Thomas More. But M. Lefranc's conjecture that in Meden, Uti, and Udem, three Greek words which signify 'nothing,' we have a play upon the places Medina and Aden is almost certainly right, for on turning the page of the *Novus Orbis* Rabelais would have come upon a summary of Ludovico di Varthema's journey, in which Medina and Aden are mentioned in two consecutive lines. It is a bolder conjecture that Gelasim stands for Ceylon, but I think there is a great deal to be said for it, though I should rather regard 'Gelasim' as an anagram (with the addition of the initial letter) of Seilam, the form which the name of Ceylon assumes in the Latin version of Marco Polo in the *Novus Orbis*[1].

[1] Lib. III, c. xxii (*Novus Orbis*, p. 353).

It is even possible that, as M. Lefranc suggests, 'the islands of the Fairies' may vaguely represent the wonderful islands beyond Taprobana (Sumatra) which Albuquerque's conquest of Malacca had opened up to the Portuguese—Ternate with its cloves, Banda with its nutmegs, Borneo and Java with their cinnamon, of all of which Rabelais might have read in Varthema's narrative[1]. He might have read too the abridged French translation of Pigafetta's narrative of Magellan's voyage (dedicated to Louise of Savoy), which Simon de Colines printed at Paris in 1526 or soon afterwards[2].

In the next chapter (xxv) it is just possible that the encounter with the six hundred and sixty knights may have been suggested to Rabelais by Vespucci's narrative of the fight with the natives off the island of Giants (Curaçoa).

In the last chapter Rabelais promises his readers a continuation of the story, 'You shall see,' he says, 'how Panurge was married...and how Pantagruel...*passa les mons Caspies, comment il naviga par la mer Athlantique et deffit les Caniballes, et conquesta les isles de Perlas.*' Here again he is almost certainly following the *Novus Orbis*, for in the account of Columbus's voyages there is a chapter, *De Canibalorum moribus*[3], and another, *Quomodo Admirans adivit Canibalorum insulas*[4], that is to say, the Caribbeean islands. For by a misunderstanding which the habits of the natives amply justified the Caribs were at first called Cannibals. A little further on in the *Novus Orbis* we read of the voyage of Pedro Alonso Niño to the Islands of Pearls, and how 'he returned home laden with pearles' and 'how he fought with the Cannibals.' By the Pearl islands are meant Margarita, which, with a few much smaller islands, lay off Venezuela, and was celebrated for its pearls in all the marts of Europe[5].

Rabelais then continues, *Comment il espousa la fille du roy de Inde nommé Presthan.* M. Lefranc infers from this in conjunction with the whole passage that it was intended that Pantagruel like Columbus and many explorers after him should sail for the East by the West, and so reach Cathay and India. This is a brilliant suggestion, and it is only the mention of the Caspian mountains that makes one hesitate about adopting it. In any case it is interesting to find Rabelais placing the

[1] See Varthema, Lib. vi, cc. xxiv—xxx (*Novus Orbis*, pp. 235 ff.).

[2] *Le voyage et navigation faict par les Espaignolz es Isles des Mollucques* (Printed at the sign of the *Soleil d'Or* and therefore not before 1526. There is no printer's device).

[3] c. lxxxviii (p. 81). [4] c. xcii (p. 83).

[5] Readers of *Westward Ho* will remember how Amyas Leigh and his companions took the pearls at Margarita from the Spaniards. Curiously enough Kingsley in this very chapter refers to Panurge's behaviour in the storm.

mythical kingdom of Prester John in India, in accordance with Marco Polo and other mediaeval travellers[1]. For at the close of the fifteenth century it was generally located in Abyssinia. This is the position assigned to it in the account of Vasco da Gama's first voyage, in Varthema's *Itinerary*, and especially in the letter of King Manuel, who says that Albuquerque had a scheme for draining the Nile into the Red Sea with the assistance of Prester John. In spite, however, of this combination of authority in the *Novus Orbis*, Rabelais clings to the mediaeval tradition. In this he agrees with the interlude of *The Four Elements*, written about 1515, in which *Experience* is represented as saying:

> This quarter is India minor,
> And this quarter India major,
> The land of Prester John.

So too in one of the legends inscribed on 'Sebastian Cabot's' Map of 1544 we read of a mighty king in Central Africa 'whom some call Prester John,' but 'this is not Prester John, because Prester John had his Empire in Eastern and Southern India until Genghis Khan, first king of the Tartars, defeated and overcame him in a very cruel battle in which he died[2].'

If Rabelais seriously entertained the idea of writing a continuation of his story which should include the account of a long sea-voyage, he was diverted from his intention for many years. It was not till the autumn of 1545 when he was writing the final chapters of the Third Book that he returned to it again. There are, however, in *Gargantua* occasional references to the New World and other matters of geographical interest. Thus in chapter xxxi he speaks of 'those who dwell beyond the Canary Islands and Isabella,' the latter being the city which Columbus founded in Hispaniola or St Domingo. Again in chapter lvi we are told that every year seven ships were brought to the Abbey of Thelema 'laden with gold ingots, raw silk, pearls, and precious stones from the islands of Pearls and the Cannibal islands.'

Rabelais is also indebted to the narratives of travellers for some of his description of animals, and we find instances of direct borrowing from the *Novus Orbis* in the account of the Island of Satin in the Fifth Book (chapter xxix). Thus the description of the elephants is taken partly from Ca da Mosto and partly from Varthema.

[1] It appears in Central Asia in Martin Behaim's globe of 1491, which is based for these parts on Marco Polo.

[2] C. R. Beazley, *John and Sebastian Cabot*, p. 233.

Ils ont le museau long de deux coudées, et le nommons proboscide, avec lequel ils puisent eau pour boire, prennent palmes, prunes, toutes sortes de mangeaille, s'en deffendent et offendent comme d'une main : et au combat jettent les gens haut en l'air, et à la chute les font crever de rire.

Hominem nisi laesus non laedit ; et ubi laedit, manu hominem comprehensum iacit in sublime ultra arcus iactum : ea dicitur manus elephanti, quam alii promuscidem appellant...manum habent in inferiore maxilla, quam exercent et retrahunt pro libitu, hac cibum capiunt et hauriunt potum omnem.

CA DA MOSTO, *c.* XXIX.

Ils ont moult belles et grandes oreilles de la forme d'un van[1]. Ils ont joinctures et articulations es jambes : ceux qui ont escrit le contraire, n'en veirent jamais qu'en peinture : entre leurs dents ils ont deux grandes cornes...et sont en la mandibule superieure, non inferieure.

Verum sunt plures qui existimant in cruribus elephantes non habere internodia, plicareque ob id nequire tibias : quod profecto a vero plurimum abest. Habent iuncturas ut caetera animalia, sed in ima prope parte crurum...Bini dentes qui prominent collocantur in superiore maxilla : auriculas quaquaversum gemini palmi magnitudine habent.

VARTHEMA, IV, *c.* X.

The unicorn, as described by Rabelais, is well worthy of a place in the island of Satin, for it is a compound of Marco Polo's rhinoceros, evidently described from personal observation, and a mysterious one-horned animal which Varthema saw in the temple of Mecca.

C'est une bete felonne à merveilles, du tout semblable à un beau cheval : excepté qu'elle a la teste comme un Cerf, les pieds comme un Elephant, la queue comme un sanglier, et au front une corne aigue, noire, et longue de six ou sept pieds....Une d'icelles je vy...avec sa corne emunder une fontaine.

Alterum eorum pullo equino...haud absimilem crediderim. Prominet in fronte cornu unicum longitudine trium cubitorum. Coloris est id animal equi mustelini : caput cervi instar.

VARTHEMA, I, *c.* XIX.

Et sunt unicornes paulo minores elephantis, pilum habentes bubali, et elephanti pedem. Habent caput ut aper, et more porcorum libenter morantur in luto et aliis immunditiis. In medio frontis gestant cornu unum, grossum et nigrum.

MARCO POLO, III, *c.* XV.

In the next chapter (XXX) we are introduced to 'a little hunch-backed, misshapen and monstrous old man,' who was called Hearsay; and round him were 'a number of men and women listening attentively, ...and among them one held a Map of the World and was explaining it to them compendiously in little aphorisms....There I saw Herodotus [here follow the names of various ancient writers on geography]; moreover:

Albert le Jacobin grand, Pierre Testemoing, Pape Pye second, Volaterran, Paulle Jovio, Le vaillant homme Cadacuist, Tevault, Jacques Cartier, Hayton Arménien, Marc Paule Venetien, Lodovic Romain, Petes Aliares,

and I know not how many other modern historians, hidden behind a piece of tapestry stealthily writing fine stuff, and all by Hearsay.'

[1] This sentence is omitted in the printed texts.

I have given the names according to the reading of the manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale. Alter Testemoing to Tesmoing, Cadacuist to Cadamosto, Tevault to Tenault, and Petes to Petrus, and connect *le vaillant homme* with Jovio instead of with Cadamosto, and the result is a better text than that of the printed editions, which read Charton for Hayton, and omit Cadamosto and Tenault altogether. The order in which the names are put is not altogether fortuitous. They are arranged in two divisions, first five writers who were not travellers, then seven travellers who left records of their travels. Possibly Petrus Aliares, the Latin form of the name of Pedro Alvarez Cabral, one of the two discoverers of Brazil, is put last because he wrote no account of his voyage. But it is more probable that Rabelais was misled by the heading in the *Novus Orbis* before chapter cxxv, which runs *Rerum memorabilium Calechut quae non sunt absimiles illis quas Petrus Aliares secundo et altero tractatu scripsit*, referring to his pilot's narrative in the second and third books of the *Paesi novamente retrovati*.

Seven of the twelve are represented in the *Novus Orbis*, namely Pietro Martire, Paolo Giovio, Ca da Mosto, Hayton the Armenian, Marco Polo, Ludovico di Varthema, and Cabral, but of these Pietro Martire is represented only by a summary of his Fourth Decade, and Paolo Giovio by a single short treatise. With regard to the latter, Rabelais was possibly acquainted with his *Descriptio Britanniae Scotiae Hiberniae et Orchadum*, printed at Venice in 1548, with a special privilege for publication in France, but I can find no trace of his having used it. There is a short sketch of the history of maritime discovery at the end of book xxxiv of his *Historiarum sui temporis libri xlv*, which was published at Florence in 1550. Further it should be noticed that the form which three of the names assume in Rabelais's text, namely Jovio, Ludovic Romain, and Petrus Aliares, points to his acquaintance with them through a Latin translation. Of the five who are not represented in the *Novus Orbis* Albertus Magnus has a place probably by virtue of his *Liber cosmographicus de natura locorum* (first printed in 1514 both at Vienna and Strassburg), and possibly also of his *De Animalibus*, while Pope Pius II (Æneas Sylvius) appears as the author of *Cosmographiae libri II*[1], a very popular work, of which there is a Paris edition, edited by Geoffroy Tory for Henri Estienne I, of 1509, and another of 1534 with the title of *Asiae Europaeque elegantissima descriptio*[2]. By Volaterran is meant Raffaele Maffei of Volterra, whose *Commentariorum*

[1] It was first printed at Venice in 1477.
[2] The same edition with a new title-page was issued by Galliot du Pré in the same year.

urbanorum libri xxxviii was first printed at Rome in 1506 and went through many editions. There are Paris ones of 1510, 1511, and 1526. It is a sort of encyclopædia, compiled with little critical power, of which the first twelve books deal with geography, the last chapter being devoted to *loca nuper reperta*. Tenault is Jean Thenauld, guardian of the Franciscan convent at Angoulême, who was sent by Louise of Savoy in 1512 on a private mission to the Holy Land and who wrote after his return an account of his travels. It was printed at Paris between 1525 and 1530 under the title of *Le voyage et itin[er]aire de oultre mer*[1]. Rabelais cites him in *Gargantua* (chapter xvi) as an authority for the fact that 'a little truck has to be fastened behind the sheep of Syria to bear up their tails, so long and heavy are they.' As a matter of fact there is nothing about these 'fat-tailed' sheep in Thenauld's narrative, and Rabelais's authority is either Herodotus or Ælian[2]. Indeed, with the exception of Jacques Cartier, I cannot find that any of the writers enumerated in this list of geographers and travellers, except those who are represented in the *Novus Orbis*, have left any mark upon Rabelais's narrative.

Of Rabelais debt to Cartier I hope to say something in a future number. Meanwhile it may be noted that Rabelais lived to see published the first volume of Ramusio's great collection of voyages, which appeared at Venice in 1550 and which far surpassed the *Novus Orbis* in completeness and accuracy.

ARTHUR TILLEY.

[1] Edited by Ch. Stefer in the *Recueil de Voyages*, Paris, 1884.

[2] Her., III, 113 (of the sheep of Arabia), and see Rawlinson's notes; Ælian, X, 10; Yule, *Marco Polo*, i, 100 *n.*, but with a wrong reference to Ælian.

A POSSIBLE REMINISCENCE OF PLOTINUS IN TENNYSON.

More than one commentator has drawn the attention of readers of *In Memoriam*, xcv, to the similarity between the experience of the poet as there described and that of Plotinus, as recorded by his disciple Porphyry and by himself in the *Enneades* (*Enn.* iv, viii, 1; vi, ix, 9, 10, 11). But, so far as I am aware, no one has noticed the close resemblance between the conditions which accompany the trance of the poet in *In Memoriam* and those which are prescribed by Plotinus for the production of trance or ecstasy—a resemblance which appears to be more than accidental.

In the fifth book of the *Enneades* (v, i, 2, 3, 4) Plotinus demands certain antecedent conditions for the soul that would find communion with the Great Soul. Before contemplation of the Great Soul, the individual soul must be freed from deception and every kind of beguilement and be in a state of peace. But not only must its own mental and bodily surroundings be peaceful; the surrounding external world must also be at peace. 'The earth must be calm, the sea calm, and the air, and the very heaven itself without a wave[1].'

The trance of *In Memoriam* and its preceding conditions are described in sections xc—xcv, which, as Mr Bradley[2] points out, form 'a group of closely connected sections on the present communion or contact of the living and the dead. It opens with the expression of desire for such communion, and closes with the description of an experience in which this desire seems to be fulfilled.' The poet after calling on his friend to come back (xc), to come back in visible form (xci), rejects the wish upon reflexion (xcii), but desires a direct contact of soul and soul (xciii). Then in the next section (xciv), he demands that the spirit desiring

[1] Reading with Kirchhoff ἀκύμων. There is some disagreement as to the exact text of this passage, but none as to its meaning.

[2] *A Commentary on Tennyson's In Memoriam*, by A. C. Bradley, 2nd Edition, pp. 184—192.

communion with the dead be in a state of internal calm, and in the opening of section xcv he lays emphasis on the external calm of the evening and night as appropriate precedent conditions of trance.

Thus, in xciv, he writes:

> In vain shalt thou, or any, call
> The spirits from their golden day,
> Except, like them, thou too canst say,
> My spirit is at peace with all.
>
> They haunt the silence of the breast,
> Imaginations calm and fair,
> The memory like a cloudless air,
> The conscience as a sea at rest:

and again, in xcv, he speaks of:

> calm that let the tapers burn
> Unwavering: not a cricket chirr'd:
> The brook alone far-off was heard,

and in his own note[1] on this passage Tennyson says: 'It was a marvellously still night, and I asked my brother Charles to listen to the brook, which we had never heard so far-off before.'

Then follows the description of the ecstatic condition:

> And all at once it seem'd at last
> The living soul was flash'd on mine,
>
> And mine in this was wound, and whirl'd
> About empyreal heights of thought,
> And came on that which is, and caught
> The deep pulsations of the world,
>
> Æonian music measuring out
> The steps of Time—the shocks of Chance—
> The blows of Death.

Nor is this all; a similar correspondence between external and internal surroundings is suggested when he tells of the passing of the condition:

> At length my trance
> Was cancell'd, stricken thro' with doubt;

the termination, that is to say, and the doubt came with the uncertainty of the morning dusk, and with the rising of the breeze of dawn:

> Till now the doubtful dusk reveal'd
> The knolls once more where, couch'd at ease,
> The white kine glimmer'd, and the trees
> Laid their dark arms about the field:
>
> And suck'd from out the distant gloom
> A breeze began to tremble o'er
> The large leaves of the sycamore,
> And fluctuate all the still perfume,

[1] See *In Memoriam annotated by the author*, p. 256.

And gathering freshlier overhead,
Rock'd the full-foliaged elms, and swung
The heavy-folded rose, and flung
The lilies to and fro, and said
'The dawn, the dawn' and died away.

Admitting that Tennyson, like Plotinus, associated with the trance-condition familiar to him[1] circumstances of external calm as well as of internal peace, it remains to consider whether this is more than an independent agreement of sensation. The question hardly admits of a certain answer without evidence, which I have not found, as to Tennyson's reading. But the following considerations perhaps suggest that the resemblance is not accidental and that the writings of Plotinus were not unknown to Tennyson and were consciously or unconsciously recalled to his memory when he was describing his own similar experience.

1. There is a certain resemblance between the phraseology of the above quoted passages from *In Memoriam* and the language of Plotinus. The 'flash' and the 'spirits' golden day' are paralleled in Plotinus[2] who speaks of 'the illuminating entry (*εἰσιοῦσαν καὶ εἰσλάμπουσαν*) of the soul' bringing a 'golden vision' (*χρυσοειδῆ ὄψιν*) and again of the 'effulgence' (*περίλαμψιν*) surrounding the contemplative soul. The word 'Æonian'[3] recurs several times in Plotinus; in his trance he sees that Time is an image of Eternity, 'the real Æon,' and that its three divisions are one[4], there being no past, no future, only 'that which is' (*ὁ ὄντως αἰών, ὃν μιμεῖται χρόνος...καὶ τὸ ἔστιν ἀεί, καὶ οὐδαμοῦ τὸ μέλλον...οὐδὲ τὸ παρεληλυθός*). The calm of earth and heaven desired by Plotinus is directly expressed in section xcv of *In Memoriam*; the calm of air and sea appears indirectly in the images of section xciv: 'The memory like a cloudless *air*, the conscience as a *sea* at rest.'

2. The passage of Plotinus describing the required antecedent conditions of ecstasy is unmistakably paraphrased by S. Augustine in a famous chapter of the *Confessions*[5], a work with which it is believed that other passages of *In Memoriam* show an acquaintance[6]. But there are phrases in *In Memoriam* and not in S. Augustine which resemble the phraseology of Plotinus, and which must therefore have been

[1] 'I have often had that feeling of being whirled up and rapt into the Great Soul.' *Annotated edition*, p. 257.

[2] *Enn.*, v, i, 2—6. [3] See *In Mem.*, xcv, above quoted.

[4] See also *In Mem.*, xxvi, stanza 3, and Mr Bradley's note thereon.

[5] *Confess.*, ix, 10: 'Si cui sileat tumultus carnis, sileant phantasiae terrae et aquarum et aeris, sileant et poli, et ipsa sibi anima sileat,...attingimus aeternam Sapientiam super omnia manentem.'

[6] See *In Mem.*, i, 1; iv, 1; viii, 3; xxvi, 3; lxxxv, 16; and illustrative quotations in Mr Bradley's *Commentary* on those passages.

derived, if derived at all, direct from the original. It is therefore hardly possible that the allusion in S. Augustine has any direct connexion with these sections of *In Memoriam*, though it may have helped to recall the original passage of Plotinus.

3. It is known that Arthur Hallam was a student of philosophy and the volume of his *Remains in Verse and Prose* contains passages showing familiarity with the doctrines not only of Plato but of the Neo-Platonists[1]. That the account of the ecstasy of Plotinus was known to him in the words of the author is proved by the appearance in his Essay on Cicero[2] of an allusion in the original Greek to the experience of Plotinus. 'The φυγα μονου προς μονον preached by the later Platonists was not possible for him.' Plotinus is the 'later Platonist' who preaches 'the Flight of the One to the One.' The *Enneades* of Plotinus ends with the description, revealed to him in ecstasy, of 'the life of gods and of godlike and blessed men, a release from every earthly thought, a life untouched by earthly pleasure, the Flight of the One to the One[3].'

But whether or not we suppose a direct connexion between Plotinus and Tennyson, it seems probable from the description in *In Memoriam*, sections xciv and xcv, that some importance was attached by Tennyson to calm as a condition of trance, and this sentiment is perhaps further reflected in the phrase of section cxxii 'in placid awe,' which seems to refer to the earlier experience. This phrase, which has caused difficulty to some critics, is certainly more appropriate if the adjective is no mere descriptive epithet, and if placidity is regarded by Tennyson, as it was by Plotinus, as an essential condition of ecstasy.

MARGARET DE G. VERRALL.

[1] *Remains*, pp. 160, 165, 174. [2] *Remains*, p. 165. [3] *Enn.*, VI, ix, 11.

NOTES ON THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE SPANISH DRAMA.

In the vast field of the Spanish drama the student has an excellent guide in Barrera, whose *Catálogo* is his indispensable companion. But it is now nearly half a century since that work appeared, and in the long interval much has been done, especially as regards the bibliography of the subject. Thanks to the investigations of Spanish scholars, the date of composition of many a comedia can now be fixed more approximately. A very important addition to our knowledge of the chronology of the Spanish Drama was made by Sr. Cruzada Villaamil, who published a series of articles in 1871, bearing the following title: *Datos inéditos que dan á conocer la Cronología de las Comedias representadas en el Reinado de Felipe IV en los Sitios Reales, en el Alcázar de Madrid, Buen Retiro y otras partes, sacados de los Libros de Gastos y Cuadernos de Nóminas de aquella Epoca que se conservan en el Archivo del Palacio de Madrid.* These articles appeared in *El Averiguador*, a journal which has long since ceased to exist. The scarcity of this publication and the importance of Sr. Villaamil's list of comedias has induced me to republish it here. These comedias were privately performed before Philip IV, and for these private representations or *particulares* the amount paid in each case was two hundred reals. I have arranged the titles in a more convenient order, and have added, where possible, the name of the author of each comedia and the date of its first publication. To Sr. Villaamil's list about a hundred plays have been added from other sources, including an interesting list of plays in the possession of a theatrical manager, Jerónimo Amella, in Valencia in 1628, which has been published by Henri Mérimée in the *Bulletin Hispanique* (1906). These additions are marked with an asterisk.

Abanillo (El).—Lope de Vega.
Represented by Antonio de Prado, in Feb. 1623 and on July 13, 1626. The play is mentioned in Lope's *Peregrino*, ed. of 1618.

***Abrahan.**—?
This play was in the possession of the theatrical manager Jerónimo Amella, in Valencia, in 1628. See *Bulletin Hispanique* (1906), p. 378. There is a comedia *La Fe de Abraham* by 'tres ingenios,' perhaps the same.

Abrir el ojo.—Francisco de Rojas Zorrilla.
Represented by Bartolome Romero in Toledo, in Sept. 1640. First printed in Zorrilla's *Comedias*, Part II, Madrid, 1645.

A buen tiempo.—?
Represented by Tomas Fernandez, Nov. 19, 1634.

***Acero (El) de Antequera.**—?
Comedia represented before 1637. Sanchez-Arjona, *Anales*, p. 311.

Acertar errando (*El Embajador fingido*).—Lope de Vega.
Represented by Adrian Lopez, Jan. 6, 1653. Printed in Lisbon, 1603.

Adversa (La) Fortuna de Rui Lopez de Avalos.—Damian Salustio del Poyo.
Represented by Gaspar de Porres, in July, 1605. Published in the *Tercera Parte de Comedias de Lope de Vega y otros*, Barcelona, 1612.

Agradecido (El).—?
Represented by Tomas Fernandez in San Lorenzo el Real, before Nov. 18, 1625.

***Agravio (El) en la Lealtad.**—?
A play in the possession of Jerónimo Amella in 1628. It is probably Lope's *La Lealtad en el Agravio*, first printed in his *Comedias*, Part XXII, Zaragoza, 1630.

A la Villa voy y de la Villa vengo.—?
Represented by Juan de Morales, June 25, 1623.

***Albis (El).**—?
A play in the possession of Jerónimo Amella in 1628. Perhaps this is *La Batalla del Albis, y mayor Hecho de Carlos V*, ascribed to Villegas and also to 'tres ingenios.'

Alcaide (El) de si mismo.—Calderon.
Represented by Juan Martinez, Jan. 29, 1636. First printed in 1651.

Alcalde (El) de Coria.—?
Represented by Juan de Morales, June 4, 1623.

A lo hecho no hay Remedio [*y Principe de los Montes*].—Montalban.
Represented by Bartolome Romero in the Salon at Madrid, Jan. 1, 1634. Printed in Montalban, *Comedias*, Part I, Madrid, 1635.

A lo que obliga el ser Rey.—Luis Velez de Guevara.
Represented by Roque de Figueroa, March 28, 1628. Printed in *Escogidas*, X, 1658.

Aman y Mardoqueo.—?
Represented by Bartolome Romero, Dec. 16, 1637. There is a comedia *Aman y Mardoqueo, ó la Horca para su Dueño* by Felipe Godinez, of which there is a MS. (copy) in the Bib. Nac., Cat. No. 2849, dated 1613. Lope de Vega's *La ermosa Ester*, also called *La Soberbia de Aman y Mardoque*, exists in an autograph (Brit. Mus.), dated April 5, 1610.

Amantes (Los) de Teruel.—Tirso de Molina? Montalban?
Represented by Manuel Vallejo, Nov. 27, 1633. Tirso's play is printed in his *Segunda Parte*, Madrid, 1627; Montalban's in his *Comedias*, Part I, Madrid, 1635.

Amar por hacer fortuna.—?
Represented by Manuel Vallejo, Jan. 27, 1635.

Amete (sic).—Lope de Vega? Belmonte and Martinez?
Represented by Adrian Lopez, Jan. 2, 1653. Lope's play *El Hamete de Toledo* was published in Part IX (1617), and that of Belmonte and Martinez in *Escogidas*, I (1652). The plays have the same title, but are entirely different.

Amor (El) al uso.—Solis.
Represented by Bartolome Romero in Sept. 1640. First printed in Solis, *Comedias*, Madrid, 1681.

Amores de proteccion.—?
Represented by Juan de Morales before May, 1625.

***Amorosas Sutilesas.**—?
A play in the possession of Jerónimo Amella in 1628. Perhaps this is Tirso de Molina's *Sutilezas de Amor*, the alternative title of *Amar por Razon de Estado*, first printed in 1627.

Amor (El) vandolero.—Lope de Vega.
Represented by Alonso de Olmedo, before Jan. 23, 1636. Printed in Lope, Part XXIV, Zaragoza, 1633.

Amotinados (Los),—*Los Amotinados en Flandes*,—Luis Velez de Guevara.
Represented by Roque de Figueroa, Sept. 25, 1633. Printed in *Diferentes*, XXXI, Barcelona, 1638.

Andromenes (sic).—?
Represented by Pedro de la Rosa, May 4, 1636. This is probably *Aristomene*, *q.v.*

Animal (El) profeta.—Mescua? Lope de Vega?
Represented by Juan de Morales, June 24, 1630. There is a MS. (copy) in the Bib. Nac. dated 1631, ascribing it to Mescua. See my *Life of Lope de Vega*, p. 495.

***Antes que te cases** [*mira lo que haces*].—Alarcon.
A play in the possession of Jerónimo Amella in 1628. This is the alternative title of *El Examen de Maridos* (see below). It was first printed in Lope's *Comedias*, Part XXIV, Zaragoza, 1633. It may be noted that the last fifty verses or more of Alarcon's play as now printed differ from the version in Part XXIV, of Lope de Vega.

***Anticristo (El).**—Alarcon.
Represented by Manuel Vallejo in Madrid, in 1618. Fernandez-Guerra, *Alarcon*, p. 283.

Aristomene (sic).—?
Represented by the same *autor* on May 15, 1636. It is probably *El valeroso Aristomenes mesenio*, printed in *Diferentes*, XXXI, Barcelona, 1638, where it is given without the author's name, but it is ascribed to Alonso de Alfaro by Barrera. It occurs as a *suelta*, with the title *Quitar el Feudo á su Patria, Aristomenes mesenio*, ascribed to Matos Fragoso. It has also been wrongly attributed to Calderon.

Atrevimiento y Ventura.—?
Represented by Antonio de Prado, Jan. 6, 1623. It was in the possession of Jerónimo Amella in 1628.

Aun de Noche alumbra el Sol.—Felipe Godinez.
Represented by Antonio de Prado, Nov. 15, 1634. Printed only as a *suelta*.

A una Duda otra mayor.—?
Represented by Cristobal de Avendaño, June 4, 1634.

Ayo (El) de su Hijo.—Guillen de Castro.
Represented by Juan Bautista Valenciano in March, 1623. This play was in the possession of Jerónimo Amella in June, 1628.

***Açote (El) de la Heregia.**—?
This comedia was in the possession of Jerónimo Amella in 1628. Fernandez de Bustamente wrote a play with the same title.

Balcones (Los) de Madrid.—Tirso de Molina.
Represented by Alonso de Olmedo prior to 1637. It is printed only as a *suelta*.

***Baltasara (La).**—Rojas Zorrilla, Antonio Coello and Luis Velez de Guevara.
Comedia represented before 1637. Sanchez-Arjona, p. 311. Printed in *Escogidas* I, 1652.

Basta intentarlo.—Felipe Godinez.
Represented by Alonso de Olmedo before 1637 and by Pedro de la Rosa in the Pardo before March, 1637. Printed in *Diferentes*, XXXII, Zaragoza, 1640.

***Batalla (La) naval de los Galeones.**—?
Comedia represented before 1637. Sanchez-Arjona, p. 311.

Bella (La) Estefania.—?
Represented by Antonio Granados before July 25, 1626. There is a comedia *La desdichada Estefania* by Lope, printed in 1619, and a *suelta* by Luis Velez de Guevara, *Los Celos hasta los Cielos, y desdichada Estefania.*

Bien vengas, mal, si vienes solo.—Calderon.
Represented by Juan Martinez, Dec. 16, 1635. Printed in Calderon, Part XI (1691).

Bizarrias (Las) de Belisa.—See *Las Viçarrias.*

Boba (La) para los otros.—Lope de Vega.
Represented by Manuel Vallejo in the Pardo, Jan. 25, 1635. Printed in Lope's *Comedias*, Part XXI, 1635.

***Boca (La) y no el Corazon** (*Fingir por conservar*).—?
Comedia represented before 1637. Sanchez-Arjona, p. 311. There is a MS. of this play in the Bib. Nac., Cat. No. 1299, which contains emendations said to be in the hand of D. Francisco de Rojas.

Brasil (El).—Lope de Vega?
Represented by Andres de la Vega, Nov. 6, 1625.

Caballero (El) bobo.—Guillen de Castro.
Represented by Antonio de Prado at Shrovetide, 1628, and on Oct. 18, 1628. Printed at Valencia, 1608.

***Cauallero (El) de Cristo.**—?
See Paz y Melia, *Catálogo*, No. 439. This play was in the possession of Jerónimo Amella in 1628.

***Caballeros (Los) nuevos.**—?
A comedia owned by Jeronimo Lopez de Sustaya before March, 1602.

Cada Loco con su Tema.—D. Antonio Hurtado de Mendoza.
Represented by Antonio de Prado, Feb. 27, 1629. Printed in Mendoza's works, ed. of Madrid, 1728.

Cada uno con su igual.—Blas Fernandez de Mesa.
Represented by Tomas Fernandez in the Retiro, Feb. 14, 1637. Printed in *Escogidas*, XVI, 1662.

Camandula (La).—?
Represented by Antonio de Prado, in March, 1623. This cannot be *Los Bandos de Ravena y fundacion de la Camandula* by Matos Fragoso, who was not born till 1610.

***Capitana (La) del Cielo.**—?
Play in the possession of Jerónimo Amella in 1628.

Capitan (El) Chinchilla.—Antonio Enriquez Gomez.
Represented by Tomas Fernandez, Dec. 4, 1634, and by Juan Martinez, Dec. 9, 1635. Mentioned by the author in his *Samson Nazareno*, 1656.

Carbonera (La).—Lope de Vega.
Represented by Pedro de la Rosa in the Retiro, June 25, 1636. Printed in 1630.

Carlos en Tunes.—?
Represented by Manuel Vallejo, Feb. 21, 1623.

[Carlos ?], La primera parte del Emperador.—?
Represented by Antonio de Prado, Nov. 22, 1634.

Carlos V., La primera parte de.—?
Represented by Antonio de Prado, May 28, 1623.

[Carlos V. ?], La primera y segunda parte del Emperador.—?
Represented by Antonio de Prado, July 17 and 22, 1626.

Carlos V, La segunda parte de.—?
Represented by Antonio de Prado, Dec. 3, 1634. This is clearly the same comedia in two parts, with the exception, perhaps, of *Carlos en Tunes*. A play with the latter title by Cañizares is much too late. A number of plays upon the history of Carlos V. are given by Paz y Melia, *Catálogo de Manuscritos*, p. 57, col. 1, under Lope's *Carlos V en Francia*. See also Restori, *Zeitschrift für Rom. Phil.* Vol. XXXI.

Casa con dos Puertas [*mala es de guardar*].—Calderon.
Represented by Juan Peñalosa, Aug. 4, 1636. Written in 1629, according to Hartzenbusch.

***Casarse por vengarse.**—Francisco de Rojas Zorrilla.
Written before March 5, 1636. Pérez Pastor, *Calderon documentos*, I, p. 99. First printed in the *Comedias* of Rojas, I, Madrid, 1640.

Castigar por defender.—Rodrigo de Herrera.
Written for Juan Martinez, theatrical director, March 2, 1633. Printed in *Flor de las mejores doce Comedias de los mayores Ingenios de España*, Madrid, 1652.

Castigo (El) de la Vanagloria.—?
Represented by Pedro Rodriguez and others, May 22, 1602.

Castigo (El) sin Venganza.—Lope de Vega.
Represented by Manuel Vallejo, Feb. 3, 1632, and by Juan Martinez, Sept. 6, 1635. Printed in Barcelona, Pedro la Caballeria, 1634. Autograph MS. dated Aug. 1, 1631. See my article in *Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie*, Vol. XXV, p. 411.

Catalan (El) Serrallonga.—See *Serrallonga*.

Cautela contra Cautela.—Tirso de Molina and Alarcon.
Represented by Francisco Lopez, June 3, 1632. Printed in Tirso's *Comedias*, Part II, 1635. It had been represented by Avendaño before the Queen between Oct. 5, 1622 and Feb. 5, 1623. Schack, *Nachträge*, p. 67.

Cautelas son Amistades.—?
Represented by Juan Martinez, Sept. 13, 1635. A play entitled *Cautela en la Amistad* is published as a *suelta* and ascribed to Godinez. Under the title *Lo que merece un Soldado, Los dos Carlos*, it is ascribed to Moreto in *Diferentes*, Part XLIII, Zaragoza, 1650.

Celos (Los) del Diablo.—?
Represented by Bartolome Romero in the Salon, Madrid, Jan. 24, 1636.

Celos (Los) en el Caballo.—Ximenez de Enciso.
Represented by Pedro de Valdes, Aug. 9, 1628. In *Diferentes*, XXV, Zaragoza, 1632, it is ascribed to 'Enciso'; in the edition of the same volume, of 1633, it is attributed to Dr Ximenez de Enciso. [It was represented by Valdes before Feb. 5, 1623, before the Queen. See Schack, *Nachträge*, p. 66.]

Celos engendran Amor.—?
Represented by Juan de Morales before May, 1625. Barrera (p. 534, col. 2) says that it was played before the Queen at the end of 1622 or beginning of 1623. See Schack, *Nachträge*, p. 67.

Celos, La segunda parte de los.—?
Represented by Antonio de Prado, Nov. 27, 1628.

Celoso Estremeño (El).—Antonio Coello.
Represented by Manuel Vallejo, May 30, 1632. First published in *Diferentes*, XXVIII, Huesca, 1634, and in Part XXVIII (*extravagante*), Zaragoza, 1638, of Lope, and ascribed to the latter in both volumes.

Celos y Honor.—?
Represented by Pedro de la Rosa in the Retiro, Feb. 21, 1637. There is a play *Zelos, Honor y Cordura* by Antonio Coello, printed in *Diferentes*, XXXI, Barcelona, 1638. See also Sanchez-Arjona, *Anales*, p. 311.

Cerco (El) de Cordoba.—?
Represented by Pedro Rodriguez and others, May 22, 1602.

Ciro y Cartago (*sic*).—Lope de Vega?
Represented by Pedro de la Rosa in the Gallinero del Retiro, Aug. 9, 1636. Perhaps this is Lope's *Contra Valor no hay Desdicha y Primer Rey de Persia*, to which Barrera adds the title, *Ciro y Arpago*; the latter are two characters in Lope's play. It was printed in 1638. According to Fajardo the alternative title is *Ziro, hijo de la Perra.* Medel mentions an anonymous play called *Ziro.*

Comedia de Ciro, La tercera parte de la.—?
Represented by Pedro de la Rosa in the Retiro, Feb. 17, 1637.

Comedia (La) de las Mujeres.—?
Represented by Tomas Fernandez in the Retiro, Feb. 8, 1637. Perhaps this is *Lo que son Mujeres*, by Rojas Zorrilla, published in his *Comedias*, Part II, Madrid, 1645.

***Comendadores (Los).**—Lope de Vega.
Represented by Gabriel Nuñez in July, 1593. It is *Los Comendadores de Cordoba*, printed in Lope's Part II, 1609.

Como ha de ser el Señor.—?
Represented by Alonso de Olmedo before Jan. 23, 1636.

Como han de ser los Padres.—?
Represented by Juan de Villegas before Jan. 1623.

Como Padre y como Rey.—Montalban.
Represented by Antonio de Prado, Jan. 1, 1635, and again on June 12, 1635. MS. copy, partly autograph in the Bibl. Nac., dated 1629. Cat. No. 645. Printed as a *suelta.*

Como se engañan los Ojos.—Juan Bautista de Villegas.
Represented by Juan Bautista de Villegas, before Jan. 1623. Printed in *Diferentes*, XXV, Zaragoza, 1632. Olmedo had represented it in 1622 before the Queen. Schack, *Nachträge*, p. 68.

Como se quita el Amor.—?
Represented by Antonio de Prado at Shrovetide, 1628, and on Jan. 6, 1635.

Con Amor servir y esperar (sic).—Lope de Vega.
Represented by Juan Martinez, May 22, 1635. It is Lope's *Amar, servir y esperar*, Part XXII, 1635.

***Conde de Alarcos (El).**—Guillen de Castro? Mescua?
Represented by Pedro Rodriguez and others, May 22, 1602. Castro's play is printed in his *Comedias*, Part I, Valencia, 1618; Mira de Mescua's in *Escogidas* V, 1653.

Conde de Fuentes (El).—Luis de Belmonte Bermudez.
Represented by Antonio de Prado, July 15, 1626. Printed as a *suelta.*

***Conde (El) de Puñonrostro.**—?
Represented by Antonio de Prado, at Shrovetide, 1628.

Conde de Sex (El).—Antonio Coello.
Represented by Manuel Vallejo, Nov. 10, 1633; and by Tomas Fernandez in the Retiro, Feb. 5, 1637. Published in *Diferentes*, XXXI, Barcelona, 1638, and ascribed to Antonio Coello. It also appeared as a *suelta* with the title *Dar la Vida por su Dama*, attributed to Luis Coello.

***Conde (El) don Sancho niño.**—Luis Velez de Guevara.
Play in the possession of Jerónimo Amella in 1628. It was first printed in 1627.

***Condesa Matilda (La).**—Lope de Vega.
Represented by Gaspar de Porres, May 7, 1605. Printed in Lope's Part II, 1609, with the alternative title *La Resistencia honrada.*

Con el saber y la ventura.—?
Represented by Roque de Figueroa, before March 28, 1628.

Conquista (La) de Brasil.—Lope de Vega?
Represented by Tomas Fernandez, before Nov. 18, 1625. Perhaps these plays are identical. Lope's *Brasil restituido* was finished on Oct. 23, 1625. The autograph is in the Lenox library, New York.

Contra Valor no hay Desdicha.—Lope de Vega. See *Ciro.*
Represented by Pedro de la Rosa, April 6, 1636.

Coronacion (La) del Rey de los Romanos.—?
Represented by Pedro de la Rosa in the Retiro, before March 3, 1637.

***Coronacion (La) de Romanos.**—?
Represented by Alonso del Olmedo before March, 1637.

Corona (La) del Agravio (*ó El Agravio satisfecho*).—Alonso Cubillo de Aragon.
Represented by Alonso de Olmedo before Jan. 23, 1636. Published only as a *suelta.*

***Corona (La) de Ungria.**—?
Play in the possession of Jerónimo Amella in 1628. This cannot be Lope de Vega's play of the same title, for the autograph of the latter, dated Dec. 23, 1633, is said to be in the Archives of the Marquis of Astorga. See Bib. Nac., Cat. No. 716.

Cueva (La) de Salamanca.—Alarcon.
Represented by Domingo Balbin, July 9, 1623. Published in Alarcon's *Comedias,* Part I, 1628.

Culpa (La) busca la Pena.—Alarcon.
Represented by Antonio de Prado, Nov. 9, 1634. Printed in Part XLI *de Varios,* Valencia (?). See Barrera, p. 686.

Cumplir con su Obligacion.—Montalban.
Represented by Tomas Fernandez, before July 31, 1625. Printed in Montalban's *Comedias,* I, 1635.

Decir y hacer.—? Can this be *Dicho y hecho* (*Lo dicho hecho*)? *q. v.*
Represented by Fernan Sanchez de Vargas on Sept. 20, 1623.

Desafio (El) del Emperador.—*El Desafio de Carlos V* by Rojas Zorrilla?
Represented by Cristobal de Avendaño, May 28, 1634. The play by Rojas is printed in *Escogidas,* VI, 1654.

Desde el Pardo á Fuencarral.—?
Represented by Antonio de Prado, Dec. 28, 1628.

Desengaño (El).—?
Represented by Tomas Fernandez, Nov. 12, 1634. Can this be *El Desengaño dichoso* by Guillen de Castro, published in Part I of his *Comedias,* Valencia, 1618?

***Desengaño (El) á buen tiempo.**—?
Comedia represented before 1637. Sanchez-Arjona, p. 311.

Desengaño en Celos.—?
Represented by Antonio de Prado, Feb. and March, 1623, and in the possession of Jerónimo Amella in 1628. Jacinto Cordero (born 1606) wrote a play entitled *Desengaño de Celos.*

Despreciada querida (La).—Juan Bautista Villegas.
Represented by Andres de la Vega on Shrove Tuesday, 1625. The autograph MS. by Villegas is dated May 15, 1621.

Despreciar lo que se quiere (*Despreciarse por quererse*).—Montalban.
Represented by Roque de Figueroa, Oct. 9, 1633. Printed in Montalban, *Comedias*, Vol. II, 1638.

Desprecios (Los) en quien ama.—Montalban?
Represented by Andres de la Vega, Oct. 22, 1625. Printed only as a *suelta* and also ascribed to Lope.

Diablo (El) predicador (*y mayor contrario Amigo*).—Belmonte? Juan Bautista de Villegas?
Represented by Manuel Vallejo, Feb. 26, 1623. First printed at Zaragoza, 1653 See Rouanet's translation.

Dicha (La) por la Cautela.—?
Represented by Cristobal de Avendaño, Nov. 26, 1635.

Dicho (Lo) dicho (sic).—?
Represented by Antonio de Prado, Feb. 4, 1628 and Dec. 7, 1634. A play *Lo dicho hecho* by Antonio Coello is published in *Diferentes*, XLII, Zaragoza, 1650.

Diciembre (El) y el Agosto.—?
Represented by Tomas Fernandez, Sept. 22, 1637. Perhaps this is *Diciembre por Agosto, Nuestra Señora de las Nieves*, by Juan Velez de Guevara, published in *Escogidas*, XVI, 1662.

Dido y Eneas.—Guillen de Castro?
Represented by Pedro Valdes, June 29, 1625. Printed in Castro's *Comedias*, Part II, Valencia, 1625. Cubillo's play *Elisa Dido, Reina de Cartago*, was first published in his *Enano de las Musas*, 1654.

Diego de Camas (*El valiente Diego de Camas*).—Antonio Enriquez Gomez.
Represented by Manuel Vallejo, May 22, 1633. First mentioned in Gomez, *Samson Nazareno*, 1656.

***Difunto (El) Vengador.**—?
Play in the possession of Jerónimo Amella in 1628.

Dineros son Calidad.—Lope de Vega.
Represented by Felipe Sanchez Echeverria, Sept. 1623. First printed in Lope's Part XXIV, Zaragoza, 1633.

Discretas Amigas (Las).—?
Represented by Andres de la Vega, May 10, 1634.

Disparates (Los) de D. Juan el Clerigo.—?
Represented by Juan de Morales, July 2, 1630.

Distraido (El).—?
Represented by Tomas Fernandez, June 20, 1637.

***Doncella (La) de Francia** (*sic*).—?
Comedia represented before 1637. Sanchez-Arjona, p. 311. This is almost certainly *La Poncella de Francia* by Lope de Vega, *q. v.*

Donde hay Agravios no hay Celos (*el Amo criado*).—Rojas Zorrilla.
Represented by Pedro de la Rosa in the Pardo, Jan. 29, 1637. Published in Rojas, *Comedias*, I, Madrid, 1640.

Donde hay Valor hay Honor.—Don Diego de Rozas y Argomedo.
Represented by Salazar, Sept. 9, 1637. Printed in *Diferentes*, XXXII, Zaragoza, 1640, and ascribed to Diego de Rojas.

Donde no está su Dueño está su Duelo.—? Lope de Vega? Guillen de Castro?
Represented by Fernan Sanchez de Vargas, Sept. 3, 1623. Ascribed to Lope in *Diferentes*, XXIX, Huesca, 1634. It also appeared as a *suelta*, ascribed to Guillen de Castro. See *Modern Language Review* I (1906), p. 106.

***Don Diego de Noche.**—Rojas Zorrilla.
This play, in the possession of Jerónimo Amella in 1628, was first printed in *Escogidas*, VII, 1654.

Don Florisel de Niquea.—Montalban.
Represented by Cristobal de Avendaño, June 10, 1634. Published in Montalban's *Comedias*, Part II, 1638.

***Don Jayme el Conquistador.**—?
A play in the possession of Jerónimo Amella in 1628.

Don Juan de Austria en Flandes.—Lope de Vega.
Represented by Alonso de Heredia, July 29, 1604, and by Roque de Figueroa before the King on March 28, 1628. It is not printed in any of the old collections of comedias, but may now be found in the Academy's ed. of Lope, Vol. XII.

Don Pedro Guiral.—Montalban.
Represented by Manuel Vallejo, April 10, 1633. Printed only as a *suelta*.

Don Quixote.—Calderon?
Represented by Pedro de la Rosa in the Retiro on Shrove Tuesday, 1637. There are comedias bearing this title by Guillen de Castro, Calderon and Matos Fragoso. Perhaps this was Calderon's, which was first produced on Feb. 16 or 17, 1637.

***Don Sancho el Malo.**—?
Represented by Pedro Valdes before the Queen, between Oct. 5, 1622 and Feb. 5, 1623. Schack, *Nachträge*, p. 68.

Dos Aldeas (Las).—?
Represented by Tomas Fernandez on St Michael's day, 1625.

Dos (Los) Fernandos.—Probably *Dos Fernandos de Austria*, by Don Antonio Coello.
Represented by Pedro de la Rosa in the Pardo, Jan. 21, 1637. Coello's play was published in *Diferentes*, Part XXXVII, Valencia, 1646, 'á costa de Juan Sonzoni.'

Duarte Pacheco.—*La prospera y adversa Fortuna de Duarte Pacheco.* 2 partes.—Jacinto Cordero.
Represented by Juan Martinez, June 19, 1631. Published in Lisbon, 1630.

Dudoso (El).—?
Represented by Fernan Sanchez, Sept. 9, 1623, and by Lorenzo Hurtado, Aug. 31, 1631. There is a play by D. Guillen de Castro entitled *El Dudoso en la Venganza* (*Las Canas en el Papel*), printed as a *suelta*.

Duelo de Amor y Amistad.—? Anon. in Barrera.
Represented by Lorenzo Hurtado, Oct. 12, 1631; and by Roque de Figueroa, Sept. 15, 1633. There is a *Duelo de Honor y Amistad* by D. Jacinto de Herrera y Sotomayor, in *Escogidas*, XXXII, 1669.

***Duque (El) de Alba en Paris.**—Lope de Vega.
Represented by Diego Lopez de Alcaraz, Feb. 26, 1606; and by Antonio de Prado, at Shrovetide, 1628, before the King. Lope's play is mentioned in the first ed. of his *Peregrino* (1604). It is no longer extant.

***Empeños de Amor y Celos.**—?
Comedia represented before 1637. Sanchez-Arjona, p. 311.

Empezar á ser buen Rey.—?
Represented by Pedro de la Rosa, May 16, 1636. Perhaps this is *Enseñar á ser buen Rey*, wrongly ascribed in a *suelta* to Calderon. See his *Quinta Parte*, 1694, in the list of plays ascribed to him.

***Encantadora (La) de Amor.**—?
Represented by Roque de Figueroa, Nov. 21, 1629 and Feb. 12, 1630. There is a comedia *Los Encantos de Medea* by Rojas Zorrilla, published in his *Comedias*, Vol. II, 1645. Whether this is the same play I do not know.

Encubierto (El).—Diego Ximenez de Enciso.
Represented by Antonio de Prado, June 11, 1623. Published only as a *suelta*.

***Engañar sin Engañar.**—?
Comedia represented before 1637. Sanchez-Arjona, p. 311.

Engaño (El).—?
Represented by Tomas Fernandez in the Pardo, Jan. 25, 1637. Perhaps this is *Los Engaños de un Engaño* (*Los Empeños de un Engaño*) by Alarcon, published in Part II of his *Comedias*, 1634.

***Enredos (Los) de Benetillo.**—?
Represented by Gabriel Nuñez, July 12, 1593. There is a play *Los Enredos de Benito*, ascribed to Lope de Vega, in *Cuatro Comedias famosas de D. Luis de Góngora y Lope de Vega*, Madrid, 1617, also a play *Las Burlas de Benetico* by Luis de Benavides. Of the latter there is a MS. in the Bibl. Nacional dated 1586, Cat. No. 434.

Escanderbeg.—See *La Segunda de Escanderbeg.*

***Esclava (La) de su Hija.**—?
A play in the possession of Jerónimo Amella in 1628.

Esclavo (El) de su Patria.—?
Represented by Juan Bautista de Villegas before Jan. 1623

***Escuelas (Las) de Atenas.**—Alonso del Castillo.
The play was written for Gaspar de Porres in Sept. 1589.

***Espigadera (La).**—?
A play in the possession of Jerónimo Amella in 1628. There is a comedia by Tirso de Molina, *La mejor Espigadera* (1633), which is also attributed to Godinez in a *suelta.*

Examen (El) de Maridos.—Alarcon.
Represented by Andres de la Vega before Nov. 1632. Printed in Alarcon, *Comedias*, Vol. II, Madrid, 1634. See above, under its alternative title, *Antes que te cases.* The two titles are registered in *El Averiguador* as if they were separate plays.

Falerina (La).—?
Represented by Juan Martinez, Jan. 17, 1636. There are two plays entitled *El Jardin de Falerina*, one by Lope de Vega, written before 1604, and Calderon's comedia, written in 1629, at the latest (Hartzenbusch).

Familiar (El) sin Demonio.—Gaspar de Avila.
Represented by Roque de Figueroa, Sept. 22, 1633. Avila's play is published in *Flor de las mejores doce comedias*, etc. Madrid, 1652.

Fernan Mendez Pinto.—Antonio Enriquez Gomez. There were two parts of this play.
Represented by Manuel Vallejo, May 18, 1633. Mentioned in the author's *Torre de Babilonia*, 1647.

***Fiesta (La) del Retiro.**—?
Represented by Bartolome Romero, before Aug. 3, 1640.

***Fiestas (Las) de Madrid.**—?
Represented by Bartolome Romero, before Aug. 1640.

Finezas y Enemistades.—?
Represented by Manuel Vallejo, Nov. 20, 1633.

Floresta (La) de Mantua.—?
Represented by Roque de Figueroa, March 28, 1628.

Fraile (El) Capitan.—?
Represented by Domingo Balbin, July 23, 1623.

Fregona (La) de Brasil.—?
Represented by Tomas Fernandez, before Nov. 18, 1625.

***Fuensanta (La) de Cordoba.**—?
Represented by Jerónimo Lopez de Sustaya, before March 5, 1602.

Fuerza (La) del Exemplo.—?
Represented by Antonio de Prado, Feb. 1623. This play was in the possession of Jerónimo Amella in 1628.

Galan (El) secreto.—Mira de Mescua.
Represented by Manuel Vallejo, Feb. 6, 1632. Ascribed to Mescua in *Diferentes*, XXIX, Valencia, 1636, and in *Escogidas*, XXXIV, 1670, but printed as Moreto's with the title *El Secreto entre dos Amigos*, in Vol. III of his *Comedias*, 1681.

Galan (El) sin Dama.—Don Antonio Hurtado de Mendoza.
Represented by Juan Martinez, Nov. 29, 1635, and by Pedro de la Rosa, April 8, 1636. Printed in *El mejor de los mejores Libros*, etc. Alcala, 1651 (Barrera, p. 709).

Galan, valiente y discreto.—Mira de Mescua.
Represented by Francisco Lopez, June 6, 1632. Printed in *Diferentes*, XXIX, Valencia, 1636.

Gallarda Policena (La).—? See *La Policena.*
Represented by Tomas Fernandez on Trinity Sunday, 1625.

Gallega (La) Mari Hernandez.—Tirso de Molina.
Represented by Manuel Vallejo, April 24, 1625. Published in Tirso's Part I, Madrid, 1627.

***Ganar Amigos.**—Alarcon.
Represented by Alonso de Olmedo before the Queen prior to Feb. 5, 1623. Schack, *Nachträge*, p. 67. Its alternative title is *Amor, Pleito y Desafio*, and it is ascribed to Lope de Vega and printed in his *Comedias*, Parts XXII, Madrid, 1635, and XXIV, Zaragoza, 1633. It appears in Alarcon's *Comedias*, II, 1634. A play by Lope entitled *Amor, Pleito y Desafio*, finished in Madrid on Nov. 23, 1621, is entirely different from the play ascribed to him above.

Garcia de Paredes.—? Belmonte?
Represented by Antonio Granados, before July 25, 1626. Lope's comedia *La Contienda de Garcia de Paredes y el Capitan Juan de Urbina*, is an early play, of which a MS. copy is in the Bib. Nac. dated Feb. 15, 1600. See Cat. No. 1750. It is more probable that the above play is Belmonte's *Darles con la Entretenida (Diego Garcia de Paredes), El Valor no tiene Edad y Sanson de Estremadura*, printed in *Diferentes*, XXXI, 1638.

General (El) de Marmol.—?
Represented by Manuel Vallejo, May 14, 1623.

***Gitanilla (La).**—Montalban? Solis?
Tomas Fernandez, theatrical manager, owned a play bearing this title, before Nov. 1, 1637. Sanchez-Arjona, p. 310.

***Gobernadora (La) de Italia.**—?
A play bearing this title was in the possession of Tomas Fernandez, theatrical manager, on Nov. 1, 1637. Sanchez-Arjona, p. 310. Perhaps this is Lope's *La Governadora*, mentioned in his *Peregrino* (1604), but now probably lost.

***Gran (El) Cardinal de España.**—?
A comedia in the possession of Jerónimo Amella in 1628. There are two plays bearing this title, one by Lope de Vega, the other by Enriquez Gomez.

Hacer bien sin saber á quien.—?
Represented by Pedro Valdes, Feb. 1623.

Ha de ser lo que Dios quiera.—Felipe Godinez.
Represented by Roque de Figueroa between Nov. 21, 1629 and Feb. 12, 1630. Printed only as a *suelta.*

HUGO A. RENNERT.

(*To be continued.*)

BRUCHSTÜCKE EINER MITTELNIEDERDEUTSCHEN BEICHTE NACH DEN ABSCHNITTEN DES KATECHISMUS.

Vor ein paar Jahren schenkte mir ein Bekannter die beiden unten abgedruckten Pergamentblätter, die er von den innern Seiten der Holzdeckel des darin eingebundenen seltenen Traktats: Eyn kurtzer bericht | von den dreien gelo= | bten der geystlichen, Nemlich von Euangeli= | scher gehorsamheyt, armůt, vnd reyni= | gkeit, Gemacht durch brůder Guardian tzu | Marpurgk obseruētien or= | dens, tzů trōst vnd ster= | ckeyt aller frōmen | geistlichen. | .˙. | Im iair. M.D.xxvii. | außgegangen. abgelöst hatte. Beim Ablösen haben die aufgeklebten Seiten I^r und II^v so stark gelitten, dass viele Wörter verblasst, andere nur mit grösster Mühe, noch andere gar nicht mehr zu entziffern sind. Diese Seiten sind auch stärker gebräunt als die beiden andern: ich habe den Leim, durch den dies geschehen ist, an verschiedenen Stellen sitzen lassen, um der stark verblassten Schrift nicht noch mehr zu schaden. Auf I^v (wenn auch ein grosser bläulicher Fleck die Seite bedeckt) und II^r ist die Schrift fast überall deutlich zu lesen. Die beiden Blätter bildeten früher gewiss ein Doppelblatt; sie enthalten zwei in sich zusammenhängende Stücke Text in sorgfältigster Niederschrift. Grösse: 15,7 × 10,7—des beschriebenen Raums: 12 × 8 cm. Auf jeder Seite steht eine Spalte zu 28 Zeilen fortlaufend geschriebenen Textes. Drei rote Überschriften (unten fett gedruckt), starke rote Balken am Anfange der neuen Stücke und der stärkern Sinneseinschnitte innerhalb dieser: I^r 23. ^{v}22. II^r 6. 12. 21. ^{v}2. 26. Kleine rote Galgen: I^r 15. 18. ^{v}6. 13. 17. 25. II^r 3. ^{v}7. 10. 19. Kleine rote senkrechte Striche zwischen der einzelnen Sätzen markieren Interpunktion. Die Handschrift ist für mnd. Verhältnisse recht alt, Ende XIV. Jahrhunderts, dazu nach ihrem Dialekte sehr gut zu bestimmen. Es ist ohne Zweifel der des westlichen Münsterlandes, wegen des ‘ende’ (= unde) und der sonstigen zahlreichen nld. Anklänge. Sicher ist sie von der westlichen Grenze des mnd., nicht aus dem

Innern; rheinisch ist sie sicher nicht, ostfriesisch auch nicht: so bleibt nur das Münsterland übrig. Die Orthographie ist auffallend sauber und geregelt, und lässt auf eine starke Schreibertradition schliessen. Im folgenden Abdruck sind die Abbreviaturen alle aufgelöst, statt der I-striche Punkte, Ergänztes in Klammern gesetzt, Unleserliches durch Punkte angedeutet. Die Lesung der beiden verblassten Seiten habe ich seinerzeit mit C. Borchling festgestellt: so ist sie zuverlässig geworden.

geſůndeget in dat ander gebod gods. dat ic den heỳl- 1r
gen namen gods ende mỳns ſcheppers heb dicke
vnnůtlicke genomen in mỳn herte ende in mỳnen
můnth. mit lofte deỳ ic gebroken hebbe. mit vn-
nůtten ſwernde in ſpotte oft in ernſte. ende oc mit
vermaledỳgende. mit vlokende. dat ic gode ende
zyner moder marien. oft andern heỳlgen heb quad
ende ſchentlicke geſproken. dat ic oc heb beſpottet
ende beſchỳmpt dat wort gods. ende den deỳ dat
ſprack. oft heb dat wol gehỳndert. mit ſprekene
mit ropene. mit lachgene. oft mit ander vn-
ſtůre... trůffen. dat ic wol heb oc vermaledỳ-
[ghet] ... vlo.. eth dem willen gods in mynr kranc-
heit in..... vngelůcke. in vnwedere. oft in andern
alſo dan zaken dat deỳ wille gods was. Ende dat
ic heb mỳn gebeth dicke genomen in mỳnen můnth
ende geſproken zůnder inicheit des herten. ende
rechte andacht. Oc zo heb ic dicke den namen
gods vnnůtlicke genomen in mỳne werk mit val-
ſcher bewỳſinghe vthwendeger gůder werk. des
ic mit vreůde ende inicheit ende rechter andacht
des herten nicht en meỳnde. **Van den derden bode.**
Ic beken oc dat ic heb geſůndeget in dat derde gebod
gods. dat ic mỳne vỳre nicht gehalden en hebbe
vollencomlicke van ener veſper tho der ander.
[mi]t mỳnen vthwendegen werken. ende mit co-
pene ende vercopene. mit degedỳngene. oft ſwern-
de vor gerichte oft zůnder richte. dar ic med
wart gehỳndert in mỳner gebede. ende in inwendeger 1v
vrieth des geỳſtes. oft raſte ende innicheit tho gode.
ende deỳ werc deỳde ic mer vm gỳricheit willen tho tijd
licken gůde dan van rechter noth oft van barm
herticheit. ende heb dat oc gedan mer van vrỳen wil
len dan van dranghes wegen ander lude. Derzo
heb ic wol broken mỳne vỳre ỳn dothlicken zůnden.
als mit vnkůſchliken [wandel]. mit ouerathe mit
ouerdranke. mit vntỳdlicken ende vnvrontlicken
danſen. dat ic lichter mochte deỳn andern med reỳſen
tho quader wollůſt. ende tho zůnden. des ic nicht
mer en heb gemeden vp [mỳnen] dach dan vp eỳnen
andern dach dat is uerlic. Derzo heb ic gebroken
mỳne vỳre mit vorſůmnỳſſe gůder werc. dat ic
mỳ nicht mer en heb geoueth in den werken der
barmherticheit des vỳrtages dan eỳns andern da
ghes. Ende dat ic wol zůnder noth des zondages
ende vp ander heỳlge daghe heb vorſůmeth mỳſſe

•

tho hornde. ende mŷn gebeth tho ſprekende. predi
cate tho hornde. als ic van rechte bŷn ſchůldich tho
donde mer vp der tijde den vp ander daghe. **Dat**
veŷrde bod. Ic heb oc geſůndeget in dat veŷrde ge
bod. dat ic nicht en heb gheereth mŷn hemelſchen
vader. ende marien deŷ moder gods als ic van rech
te zolde don. dat ic gode nicht en heb danket al
der gaue ende woldath deŷ heŷ mŷ gegheuen heft.
an lŷue. an zeŷle. an dogeden. an genaden. oft an
vthwendegen gůde. wollůſt. wolvare. ende an

alſo dat ic des heb en orſake geweſen. wetens oft vn- II^{r}
wetens. in eſſcap oft bůthen eſſcap. naturlicke of vn-
natůrlicke. dat is mŷ leit. ende wolde dat gherne
degher ende blod mit vnderſchede bŷchten. alſo vere
als ic dat wŷſte. ende konde dat tho worde brengen.
Ic heb oc zůndeget in afgůnſticheit oft hathe. alſo
dat ic mŷ heb bedroueth vm eŷns andern gůd. had
heŷ mer tijdlickes gůdes. als dogede ende genade.
was heŷ ſchoner. wŷſer. ſtarker. leŷftelger. beter
dan ic. dat was mŷ leit ende bedroflic dat heŷ dat
hadde ende ic nicht. oft dat heŷ des mer hadde dan
ic. Ic heb oc geſůndeget mit thorne. alſo dat ic
thorn mit vorſathe ende gůden berade heb tho lan-
ghe bŷ ^{mŷ} gehalden ende in mŷnen herten gedregen.
vp mŷn ... berſten deŷ mŷ lede hadde ghedan.
ende oc dŷcke heb begerth ende gebeden vrake.
oc weder recht ouer den deŷ mŷn vŷanth was.
deŷ mŷ heft vervnrechtet. vor volgeth. ende ſcha
den gedan. an lŷue. an zeŷle. oft an gůde. heddet
ein ouel dar vm ghan dat hed mŷ leŷf geweſen.
Ic heb geſůndeget in tracheit tho gods deŷnſte. dat
ic mŷ heb dicke mit vorſathe. ende van volbůrth
mŷnr redelicheit bedroueth. dar vm dat ic zolde
gůde werc don in deŷ ere gods. als dat ic mŷn
gebeth ſpreŷke. dat ic almeſſen geŷue. tho kerken.
ende vm mŷn afflath genghe. dat ic offerde. dat
ic mŷſſe. predicate. ende andern gods deŷnſt
zeghe oft horde. oft dat ic ander gůde werc deŷde.
dey ic bŷn ſchůldich. tho [don] de ... des ge.. weg.. II^{v}
oft der heylgen kerken. Ic heb oc geſůndeget mit...
athe ende dranke. dat ic mit vorſathe. ende mit wil-
len heb mer ſpŷſe tho mŷ genomen dan mŷn nothtrocht
was. dar ic van beſwerth wart. an lŷue. an zeŷle.
ende an al mŷnen zŷnnen. beŷde inwendich ende vth
wendich. Ende dat ic oc dicke vm vnordelicker wol-
luſt willen. dey ic hadde tho der ſpiſe heb zůnder
noth eŷr rechten tijden drunken oft gethen. ende
oc wol dar mede heb mŷne vaſte gebroken. Ende
heb oc wol al tho vele ſorch veldich geweſen vor deŷ
ſpiſe wo dat ic zeŷ lecker ende wol makede. vp
dat zeŷ mŷ wol smakede. dar ic dan mede vorgath
mŷns gebedes. mŷnr inicheit. ende dar deŷ inwen-
deghe vrigheit mŷns geŷſtes med gehŷnderth
wart in eren vrede. Ende dar ic oc med vorgath
ende vorſůmde zůnder noth ander gůde werc deŷ
ic van rechte don zolde. oft deŷ ic was plŷchtich
tho donde. Ende wo ic in al deſſen zeuen houeth

zůnden. heb gėfůndeget. des ic nicht tho zẏnne
noch to worde brenghen en kan. mẏt danken. mit
worden. mit werken wetens oft vnwetens. dat
is mẏ tho male leit. ende beken des gode vp zẏne
barmherticheit. **Van den vẏf zẏnnen.**
Ich beken dat ic oc heb gefůndeget mit mẏnen den vif zẏnnen
dat ic mẏn oghen heb dicke gheopenth [en]de
gekart de[r] ẏdelcheit differ werlth ende....
gefeẏn deẏ ic nicht en mod beghern van ... e.

G. Schaaffs.

MISCELLANEOUS NOTES.

Spenser, 'Shepherd's Calendar,' 'November.'

Professor Herford writes: 'The "November" is a dirge, probably upon the death of some member of the family of Leicester, who is plausibly [I should say "certainly"] understood under "Lobbin." That she died by drowning may probably be inferred from v. 37 ["For deade is Dido, dead, alas! and drent;"] since this has no counterpart in the eclogue of Marot.'

In order to fix the identity of the lady further, it is natural to look into the family-history of Leicester, which is fairly well-known. On doing so, one finds, I think, a lady who may well have been the subject of Spenser's dirge in Ambrosia Sidney, Leicester's niece and Philip Sidney's sister, who died at Ludlow on the 22nd of February, 1574–5, 'nearly twenty years old.'

We may notice Spenser's lines (63, 64):

> Shepheards, that by your flocks on Kentish downes abyde,
> Waile ye this wofull waste of Natures warke;

The fact that it is *Kentish* shepherds who are invoked, is an evidence that this young kinswoman of Leicester's was a Sidney.

The children of Sir Henry Sidney[1] were:

1. A daughter who died in infancy.
2. Philip, born 30 Nov., 1554.
3. Ambrosia, born [? Sept.] 1555, died 22 Feb., 1574–5.
4. Margaret, born July, 1556, died 1558.
5. Mary, born 27 Oct., 1561.
6. Robert, born 19 Nov., 1563.
7. Thomas, born 25 March, 1569.

[1] See Dr Shuckburgh's note in his edition of the *Apologie for Poetrie* (1891), p. xvii.

Ambrosia Sidney was probably less than a year younger than Philip. After his earliest years he had no other brother or sister nearer him in age than Mary who was nearly seven years his junior. We can believe then that if Ambrosia was at all what one would expect of the sister of Philip and Mary Sidney, she would be the closest and most admired friend of her brother Philip, and her death at the age of nineteen when he was abroad, would have been a grief which he would never forget, and which would be well-known to those who knew him. What more likely than that Spenser in the *Shepherd's Calendar*, which he dedicated to Philip Sidney, should make the subject of his dirge this dearest sister of his patron who had been snatched away by death four years before?

It is true that I have not found any evidence that Ambrosia Sidney was drowned, any more than I have found any which would contradict such an assumption. It will be remarked that in line 195 Spenser introduces the name of the lady whom, as I suggest, he is commemorating:

> There drincks she Nectar with Ambrosia mixt.

This, however, proves nothing either way—especially as Marot in his *Complainte*, has something similar:

> Là où elle est n'y a rien défloré....
> Car toute odour ambrosienne y fleurent.

But if it could be independently proved that Ambrosia Sidney *was* the subject of the dirge, the introduction of her name would be interesting.

G. C. Moore Smith.

Shakespeareana.

(1) *Twelfth Night*, III, ii, 45:

> We'll call thee at the [some editors suggest 'thy'] cubiculo.

Mr Innes in the *Warwick Shakespeare* calls 'cubiculo,' 'a corruption of Sir Toby's'; Mr Verity in the *Pitt Press Shakespeare*, 'an Italian form from the Latin cubiculum.' But is it not probably a reminiscence of schoolboy Latin, like 'in campo' ('in the playing-ground'), 'gratias' ('thank you') etc.? Or perhaps a legal phrase = 'in chambers'? The *Acta Curiæ* of the University of Cambridge under the date 3 April 1599 record proceedings 'in cubiculo Dni. Procancellarij infra Collegium Corporis Christi.'

(2) *Twelfth Night*, III, ii, 71:

> Look where the youngest wren of nine comes.

(where 'nine' is Theobald's emendation for 'mine' of the Folios). Most editors read 'nine' and refer us to an explanation given by Hanmer and Steevens, that the wren generally lays nine or ten eggs at a time, and the last hatched of all birds are usually the smallest and weakest of the brood. But I think the addition of the words 'of nine' (if we accept Theobald's change) is only a popular manner of intensifying the superlative. Cp. *Hycke Scorner*, where Pyte says 'Nay that is the least thought that they have of fyftene.'

(3) *King John*, III, iii.

Is Jonson, in his *Every Man in his Humour*, III, ii, 66—139 and IV, vi, 76—94, parodying this scene of Shakespeare's?

(4) *Julius Caesar*, V, i, 56—58:

> *Brutus.* Caesar, thou canst not die by traitors' hands,
> Unless thou bring'st them with thee.
> *Octavio.* So I hope,
> I was not born to die on Brutus' sword.

This is how the passage stands in the *Globe Shakespeare*. The First Folio stood thus:

> So I hope:
> I was not borne to dye on *Brutus* sword.

Should we not rather punctuate the last speech thus?

> So, I hope,
> I was not born to die on Brutus' sword.

G. C. Moore Smith.

The Authorship and Original Issue of 'Cinthia's Revenge.'

The play of *Cinthias Revenge: or Mœnanders Extasie* was issued in 1613 with a dedication signed 'I.S.' In some copies the words 'Written by Iohn Stephens, Gent.' appear as an addition on the title-page. The variant is duly noted in Mr Greg's *List of English Plays*, and in his *List of Masques, Pageants, etc.*, p. cxxviii, a final note is added which may be taken as summing up the accepted view on the questions both of issue and of authorship:

'The title-page differs only in having the name inserted. A copy is in the Dyce collection. Mr Halliwell assigned the play to John Swallow

on the authority of an allusion in some of the commendatory verses, for which he is scoffed at by Mr Fleay. The ascription had, however, been already made by Kirkman. This must have been traditional, and borne out as it is by the reference in the verses is pretty well convincing. Probably then the issue with Stephens' name is the earlier.'

Four copies of commendatory verse are prefixed to the play, by F.C., B.I. (no doubt Ben Jonson), G. Rogers, and Thomas Danet. The first of these, occurring on sig. A 4, is responsible for the 'swallow' reference.

To his friend the Author.

One Swallow makes no Summer, moſt men ſay,
But who diſproues that Prouerbe, made this Play.

F. C.

In the lack of other evidence it is natural to seek in these lines a clue to the missing name, especially as it begins with 'S.' I am inclined to think that Kirkman did this, and so started a tradition rather than followed one; if so, it is an interesting bit of evidence that he kept his eyes open, examined plays, and tried to make his list complete. But it has not been noticed that John Stephens claimed the play for his, and the evidence seems decisive, especially with the corroboration of the signed title-page. He published in 1615 a short volume of *Satyrical Essayes Characters and others* with his name on the title-page. He reissued and amplified this in the same year as *Essayes and Characters. Ironicall, and Instructive...By Iohn Stephens the yonger, of Lincolnes Inne, Gent.* 'Essay .vii. of Poetrie' has an inserted passage found only in this later edition (p. 136):

**Cynthia's* reuenge.	As in *another place I haue thus noted - - - - *A Poets rapture, Kings haue wiſhd to feele,* *Which ſome deſpiſe becauſe vncapable.*

This is a quotation from a speech of Laelio in the play, Act IV, scene i, sig. L 3 verso. In the light of this assertion it seems better to regard F.C.'s foolish couplet as nothing more than an extravagant compliment. I do not know who 'F.C.' was, but I am glad that he did not make a practice of prefixing enigmas to plays.

Further, it seems certain that the author intended his play to be issued anonymously. Ben Jonson's poem 'To his much and worthily eſteemed friend the Author' opens:

Who takes thy volume to his vertuous hand,
Muſt be intended ſtill to vnderſtand:
Who bluntly doth but looke vpon the ſame,
May aſke, what Author would conceale his name?

'I.S.' himself agrees with this: he writes in 'The Authors Epistle Popular,' sig. A 2,—'*And with all ſo vn-willing am I to play* Tom-foole *in Print for name-ſake, as I haue purpoſly concealed it from the Impreſſion, ſo as the petty volume enioyes his fortune Fatherleſſe.*' After this he would hardly have been guilty of the crowning absurdity of putting his name on the title-page. I believe that it occurs only in a few copies. I suggest that in these it was a printer's blunder which was promptly cancelled, but a limited number of copies so marked got into circulation.

PERCY SIMPSON.

'HEADLESS BEARS.'

On page 63, Vol. II of this *Review*, Mr H. Littledale quotes some verses from Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*, where 'headless bears' are mentioned amongst 'a thousand ugly shapes,' which the author's fantasy presents. Another instance of such a headless terror, which may be further proof of the genuineness of Shakespeare's 'headless bear,' is to be found on page 54 of *Poems, consisting of Tales, Fables, Epigrams, etc. by Nobody* (London, 1770), where these words occur

> Or thro' the Church-yard shou'd he go
> By Night—my Ghost shall rise,
> And like a *headless* Horse appear,
> With *frightful Saucer Eyes.*

The italics are not mine but to be found in the original. Can anyone tell me who was the author of this little book of quaint verses?

A. J. BARNOUW.

TEXTUAL NOTES ON 'THE ENTERLUDE OF JOHAN THE EVANGELIST.'

The rare edition of this piece, of which a literatim reprint has recently been issued by the Malone Society, bears the imprint of John Waley, whose activity as a printer extends from 1546 to 1586. The catalogue of the British Museum conjecturally assigns to it the date of 1560. An interlude with the same title existed in 1520: Mr Greg's introduction to the reprint mentions that the sale of a copy (for one penny) is recorded in the accounts of an Oxford bookseller for

that year. That the extant edition is a reprint seems to me rather unlikely, because the blunders in Waley's text are certainly due to misreading of a MS. It is, of course, possible that they were taken over from an earlier printed edition; but the character of some of them suggests that the compositor's difficulty in reading his copy arose from its being in an antiquated handwriting. As errors of this kind are often instructive, it may be worth while to suggest the probable corrections of the most noteworthy blundered readings.

1. Some of the speeches are headed with the mysterious name *Irisdicion.* The speaker is evidently the same person as St John the Evangelist. It seems likely that the MS. had the abbreviation *Joh evan.* The resemblance between certain sixteenth century forms of *d* and *e*, and of *h* and *s*, renders this correction more plausible than it may at first sight appear to be. The compositor was probably thinking of the word *jurisdiction.*

2. Another speaker in the interlude is called *Actio.* The name is very inappropriate to one who enters with the complaint of the sluggard. In spite of a seeming difficulty in line 544, I think he is the same person as *Idelnesse.* The MS. must have had the abbreviation *Accid* for *Accidia.*

3. 'Forfence' (line 10) of course stands for *fervence.* The spelling 'ferfent' for *fervent* is well known.

4. In line 169, 'Lucyfer that lothly lorde that is in bale blysses,' I think the last word should read *blysles.* It has been pointed out to me that an apparent parallel to Waley's reading exists in the *Chester Plays* (E. E. T. S.), I. p. 223 note, 'In burning blise ther shall they be, And sit with lucifier.' I am inclined, however, to adhere to the correction *blysles*, as 'blissless bale' is an expression not uncommon in the sixteenth century, and the rime-word is 'restlesse.' The word is printed with two long *s*'s.

5. In line 178, 'Finit tormentorum suorum,' the first word should of course be *Fumus.*

6. In line 183, '*Septum dominium* peccati est mors,' read *Stipendium enim.* (The Vulgate has the plural *stipendia.*)

7. Line 201, 'by bokes Amromes.' Read 'by Cokes armes,' an oath which is common in Skelton.

8. In line 264, 'Actio' (i.e. Accidia, Idelnesse), complaining that he has been awaked too soon, says 'One *resyded* me with a bolle of water.' . Read *reysed.*

9. Line 499, 'I fall downe *moselynge.*' Perhaps we should read

noselynge, a word which occurs in Malory, though I know no later instance. Perhaps, however, *moselynge* may be a genuine form, due to etymological association of *noselynge* with *mosel*, *musel*, muzzle. Compare: 'They were thenne soo feble that they felle where thei wente, musselinge in the grounde as hogges' (Caxton, *Four Sons of Aymon*, E. E. T. S., p. 426).

Henry Bradley.

REVIEWS.

Shakespeare and the Modern Stage. With other Essays. By Sidney Lee. London: Archibald Constable and Co., 1906. 8vo. xv + 251 pp.

Shakespeare and his Day. A Study of the Topical Element in Shakespeare and in the Elizabethan Drama. Being the Harness Prize Essay, 1901. By J. A. De Rothschild. London: Edward Arnold, 1906. 8vo. xi + 251 pp.

These two books, as their titles indicate, approach Shakespeare and the Elizabethan stage from converse points of view. Mr Sidney Lee's 'main endeavour,' as he tells us in his preface, 'is to survey Shakespearean drama in relation to modern life, and to illustrate its living force in current affairs. Even in the papers which embody researches in sixteenth or seventeenth-century dramatic history, I have sought to keep in view the bearings of the past on the present.' Mr De Rothschild, on the contrary, seeks to wring from the pages of Shakespeare and his fellows whatever they have to reveal of contemporary affairs and conditions, or, as he phrases it, 'to extract from the Elizabethan drama something of Elizabethan life.' Both lines of inquiry are a necessity of Shakespearean study; they are complementary, not conflicting, and the results of each, if attained by equally sure and scholarly methods, are indispensable to a comprehensive outlook over the field of Elizabethan research.

Mr Lee's volume consists of eleven papers written between 1899 and 1905. One of the papers entitled *Aspects of Shakespeare's Philosophy*, which was prepared in 1899 for the purposes of a popular lecture, is now printed for the first time. The others have appeared in Magazines, or, in one case, in the *English Miscellany* presented to Dr Furnivall in 1901. They are therefore, as a whole, not new to Shakespearean students, who, however, will welcome them in their collected form in this shapely and well-printed volume brought out by Mr Murray, but now transferred to Messrs. Constable. The work is, in a sense, a supplement to its author's *Life of William Shakespeare*, and he claims that the papers included in it 'may be credited with sufficient unity of intention to warrant their combination in a single volume.' The claim, however, must not be pressed very rigorously, for though it is true that the papers all more or less 'keep in view the bearings of the past on the present,' they fall into three fairly well-defined groups. The first of these contains the essay from which the volume is named, *Shakespeare*

and the Modern Stage, and the closely related articles, *Mr Benson and Shakespearean Drama* and *The Municipal Theatre,* while *The Commemoration of Shakespeare in London,* and *Shakespeare and the Elizabethan Playgoer* may be classed in the same group. All these articles are, in the good sense of the word, popular. They deal with such 'actual,' and, in their degree, controversial subjects as the proper method of producing Shakespeare's plays on the modern stage, the training of actors for Shakespearean parts, the subsidising of the theatre by the state or by municipalities, and the erection of a memorial to Shakespeare in London. Mr Lee has, more than any other living Shakespearean critic, succeeded in catching the ear not only of the scholar, but of the theatre-goer and the 'man in the street.' His views and proposals have thus attracted wide attention, and have stimulated discussion in the daily and weekly press. He speaks with the authority born of intimate knowledge united to a well-balanced judgement, and his articles cannot but powerfully affect public opinion. But they do not form the part of his volume which demands special notice in *The Modern Language Review.*

It is in the second main group of papers that the interest of the work for students chiefly lies. This group includes *Shakespeare in Oral Tradition, Pepys and Shakespeare, A Peril of Shakespearean Research,* and *Shakespeare in France.* The essay on *Shakespeare in Oral Tradition* is indeed, to our thinking, the most valuable feature of the volume, and one of the most admirable examples that Mr Lee has ever given of what seems to us his distinctive method as a Shakespearean biographer. This lies in the garnering from every source of pieces of evidence, slight and often apparently trivial in themselves, but which when exhaustively analysed and scientifically correlated, yield important results. Such evidence, even if it be only a clause from a bookseller's preface, or a scrap from an account book, is usually of a written or printed character. But here Mr Lee 'prays in aid' something more fugitive and intangible, 'the talk of surviving kinsmen, fellow-craftsmen, admiring acquaintances, and sympathetic friends,' transmitted from lip to lip during the century after the dramatist's death. He brings into specially clear relief the importance of the contributions made to oral tradition by Shakespeare's fellow-actors, some of whom were remarkable for their longevity. We see how John Lowin and Joseph Taylor, two junior members of the King's Company, surviving their great colleague for more than fifty years, were in a position to retail such interesting theatrical gossip about him as was noted by the old prompter John Downes, and passed on to Betterton: 'Taylor repeated instructions which he had received from Shakespeare's own lips for the playing of the part of Hamlet, while Lowin narrated how Shakespeare taught him the theatrical interpretation of the character of Henry the Eighth.' It is tantalising not to have Shakespeare's views on the correct method of interpreting the Prince of Denmark on the stage recorded for us in more explicit terms. Even more disappointing is it that Gilbert Shakespeare, a younger brother of the dramatist, when visited in

extreme old age by actors who had learnt of his existence from his grand-nephew, the actor Charles Hart, should have been able to remember nothing but William's performance of Adam in *As You Like It.*

To this flotsam and jetsam of personal anecdote further contribution is made by another of Shakespeare's fellow-actors, Christopher Beeston, whose reminiscences were passed on to Thomas Heywood, and to his son William Beeston, who succeeded him as manager of the Cockpit Theatre in Drury Lane. From William Beeston the gossip filtered through to Aubrey and to Sir William D'Avenant, Beeston's successor as manager of the Cockpit Theatre. In D'Avenant more than in any other single person the converging lines of oral tradition meet. This fact is, of course, well known, but Mr Lee illustrates it more fully, and presses home the inferences from it more thoroughly than has been hitherto done. He shews how D'Avenant's youthful memories of Shakespeare's visits to his father's Oxford hostelry, on his journeys between London and Stratford, were combined, in his later years, with details gathered from the lips of Taylor, Lowin, and Beeston; how D'Avenant's contagious enthusiasm prompted Betterton to make his journey to Stratford in quest of additional Shakespearean lore, and how from Betterton Rowe derived the chief materials for the first biography of the dramatist prefixed to his edition of the plays in 1709. The net result of the whole paper is not to add much to our knowledge of Shakespeare's career, but—what is of equal moment—to shew that that knowledge, even apart from written or printed testimony, rests on a reasonably secure basis. Shakespeare had to wait for almost a century after his death for his first formal biographer, but Mr Lee has here demonstrated once and for all that across that century the dramatist and his biographer are united by an unbroken series of intermediate personal ties 'which, though light as air, are as strong as links of iron.'

To the paper just discussed a section of the essay on *Pepys and Shakespeare* forms a supplement, and here Mr Lee gives his fancy a somewhat freer rein. A book of manuscript music in Pepys' library at Magdalene College, Cambridge, contains a setting of Hamlet's soliloquy 'To be or not to be.' The piece is unsigned, but on the authority of Sir Frederick Bridge (who arranged it to be sung at a meeting of the Pepys Club on November 30, 1905) Mr Lee ascribes its composition to the diarist. Pepys has left on record in various entries in his diary his unbounded admiration for Betterton's performance of the title-rôle in *Hamlet.* Betterton, as has been seen, had been 'coached' for the part by D'Avenant, who had received hints from Joseph Taylor, the actor to whom Shakespeare himself had given instructions as to its right rendering. Hence Mr Lee concludes that 'if we accept the reasonable theory that [Pepys'] piece of music preserves something of the cadences of Betterton's enunciation, it is no extravagance to suggest that a note here or there enshrines the modulation of the voice of Shakespeare himself.' We will not lay an 'extravagance' to Mr Lee's charge, but we think that the theory, ingenious and suggestive though

it be, will not stand very rough handling. The whole paper on *Pepys and Shakespeare* is interesting and racy, but Mr Lee is too unsparing in his onslaughts on the Restoration versions of some of Shakespeare's plays, which the diarist went to see with so much pleasure. He gives an analysis of the chief changes made by Dryden and D'Avenant in their 'barbarous revision' of *The Tempest*. The denunciatory epithet is too strong. The *Enchanted Island* of course mutilates and perverts its original in unpardonable fashion, but it is a deft, and, from its own point of view, attractive piece of workmanship. A man might even, we would plead, 'scape hanging who would be content to exchange parts of the underplot in *The Tempest* for the amusing political burlesque which is substituted in the adaptation.

In the paper on *Shakespeare in France*, suggested by the publication of M. Jusserand's well-known volume, Mr Lee deals with other adaptations of the dramatist's plays, especially by J. F. Ducis and by Dumas. The transgressions of these foreign revisers, such as reconciling Othello and Desdemona, and sparing Hamlet's life, are noted and censured. But the offenders are, so to speak, dismissed with a caution, on the score of their genuine hero-worship of the dramatist, and of their errors being due to 'native temperament.' In the last section of this paper Mr Lee chronicles a very interesting 'find,' which had escaped the vigilant eye of M. Jusserand. This is the thin octavo, *Pensées de Shakespeare, Extraites de ses Ouvrages*, published at Besançon in 1801, and confidently attributed to Charles Nodier, who was a native of the town. It was a lucky chance of the auction-room that brought this forgotten little volume into the hands of Mr Lee, for whom its significance does not lie in its rendering of 190 Shakespearean *Pensées*, but in its *Observations Préliminaires*, containing touching expressions of gratitude to the dramatist as 'a friend whom Heaven has given to the unhappy of every age and every country.'

Another of Nodier's sayings, 'from Shakespeare's works one can draw forth a philosophy, but from no systems of philosophy could one construct one page of Shakespeare,' might form the heading to the paper on *Aspects of Shakespeare's Philosophy*, which is printed in this volume for the first time. It is the dramatist's political philosophy which is mainly dealt with, and the paper is thus closely linked with the one that follows on *Shakespeare and Patriotism*. Together they form the third and shortest section of the book. They are weighty and well-reasoned, but they are less distinctive of Mr Lee's special qualities than the bulk of the other papers, and they stand somewhat outside the main scope of the volume. They help to illustrate, however, the breadth of Mr Lee's Shakespearean interests, and the work, in its varied aspects, is one which every student of the dramatist will do well to add to his shelves.

Mr De Rothschild's volume, *Shakespeare and his Day*, consists of the essay which won the Harness Prize in 1901. There is nothing, however, in the 'Foreword' to shew whether in the five years which elapsed before its publication in book form, its author revised it for this

purpose. It is seldom that an essay written for the special purposes of an academic competition is entirely suited, in its original form, to challenge the verdict of a wider public. We are told, however, that the scheme of the work is 'in the first place to shadow forth some of the Elizabethan personalities and events; and secondly, to evolve something of the general colours and forms of Shakespeare's times.' It may be said at once that the writer is much more successful in the second of these two objects than in the first.

With Mr De Rothschild's contention in his opening chapter that there is a large topical element in the plays of the Elizabethan dramatists, including Shakespeare, we are in full agreement. But the subject is beset with difficulties of all kinds, and when a writer seeks to enlighten us 'on particular allusions of the Elizabethan stage' (to quote the heading of the second chapter), he needs to be panoplied in the full armour of scholarship. It is no derogation from Mr De Rothschild's attainments in other respects to say that he is not adequately equipped for this part of his task. He collects in this chapter from a number of Elizabethan plays allusions to contemporary persons and events. Many of them are familiar, and we cannot discover that he has made any new identification that needs to be seriously considered. What are we to say, for instance, of the suggestion that 'in Lady Macbeth's treatment of the kinsman who was both sovereign and guest, the dramatist designedly drew, to all appearance, a parallel to Elizabeth's behaviour towards the Scottish Mary'? And the grounds on which Suffolk in *Henry VI*, the Thane of Cawdor, and Benedick, are identified, in certain aspects, with Leicester, Essex, and Pembroke respectively are decidedly flimsy. In the discussion of *Love's Labour's Lost* no reference is made to Mr Acheson's *Shakespeare and the Rival Poet*, where on exceedingly plausible grounds Chapman is indicated as the original of Holofernes. Mr Acheson's work, it is true, did not appear till 1903, but in publishing his essay Mr De Rothschild should at least have added a footnote referring to it. And in discussing the topical element in Chapman's historical plays he should have realised that Clermont d'Ambois, who avenges Bussy, is a fictitious personage invented for this purpose by the dramatist.

When we turn, however, to Mr De Rothschild's third and longest chapter 'on the general allusions of the Elizabethan stage,' the treatment is much more satisfactory. The object of this chapter is to illustrate from the plays of the period 'contemporary types and local customs.' Country life, London resorts and fashions, leading professional types, school and university education, the theatres, with their actors and audiences, religious festivals and observances—these and kindred topics are successively illustrated from the plays of the time, with additional light from pamphlets and other non-dramatic literature. There is nothing very novel in the picture, and such a play as Dekker's *The Shoemaker's Holiday* is passed over, though it would have yielded valuable *data*. But in the main Mr De Rothschild has here made good use of his material. He has shaped it into a lively presentment of the

outward features of the Elizabethan age, and any student of the period, who is content not to dive much below the surface, will find these pages well worth reading. The footnotes, which are plentifully supplied, are a useful feature of the book, but there is no index. This is indispensable to a work of the kind, and, should a second edition of the volume be called for, it should certainly be added.

F. S. Boas.

The Complete Works of William Shakespeare. Reprinted from the First Folio. Edited by Charlotte Porter and H. A. Clarke. With an Introduction by John Churton Collins. 13 Volumes. London: G. G. Harrap. *n. d.* [1907]. 8vo.

It is hardly necessary nowadays to insist upon the superior value of the text of the First Folio. Perhaps the American undertakers[1] of this edition are justified in saying that the publication 'will be considered a literary event of more than usual importance,' for, apart from facsimiles such as Mr Sidney Lee's, there is no accessible, certainly no working, text of the Folio for the use of students, much less of general readers. Though it is matter for congratulation that English scholarship will soon make good this omission, there need be no hesitation in thanking Miss Porter and Miss Clarke for the work on which they have spent so much time. Their design is, in the words of Professor Collins, who introduces the edition to the English public, 'to furnish the general reader with all that is necessary for the intelligent study, in the commonly accepted sense of the term, of each one of the plays—with glossaries, that is to say, and with what is requisite in the way of commentary and prolegomena for the elucidation of the text and for the history generally of the drama—its source or sources, the probable date of its composition, the influences affecting it, its relation to the poet's other works.'

Mr Collins's claim that this reprint of the First Folio has been made 'with exact fidelity' has stood such tests as have been applied. It would have been a pleasure to have stated that the editorial annotation, especially in the matter of variants, showed like accuracy. The repetition of errors in the ascription of readings to certain editors, not to speak of the wrong rendering of these readings, seems to prove that the 'authorities' have not always been before the editors. A few notes on the text of *Henry V* may be taken as evidence of this.

P. 24, l. 75: 'enough. Go to—Pope.' Pope reads: 'enough, go to.'

[1] It would have been better had this edition given some indication that it is a reissue for the English market of an American publication by Charlotte Porter and Helen A. Clarke, 'Editors of the Camberwell Browning' (New York: Crowell & Co. Copyright 1903 and 1905). The 'Notes, Introduction, Glossary, List of Variorum Readings, and Selected Criticism' (as announced on the American title-page) have been modified or omitted, but the text of the entire book is printed from the old plates. The English edition is undated.

P. 42, ll. 13–17: '*If...bough:* 5 ll. ending me, me, hie, truly, bough —Capell.' The five lines do not end so in Capell, who prints ll. 16, 17 as prose (as in the Folio). Pistol's speech 'If...high' had been arranged in three lines by Johnson. The Cambridge editors make the same error regarding Capell's treatment of ll. 16, 17.

P. 66, l. 4: 'Goodmorrow—Rowe.' For 'Rowe' read 'F_3.'

P. 75, l. 260: Rowe reads 'Think'st.'

P. 84, l. 4: '*Estes le Gentilhome de bon:* êtes gentilhomme de bonne —Theobald.' Theobald reads 'estes le gentlehomme de bonne.'

P. 89, l. 1: 'Actus Quartus: out—Rowe.' For 'Rowe' read 'Pope.' This is a bad error, for it was Pope who first rearranged the Acts in the way now accepted.

P. 95, l. 170: '*and:* an't—Pope.' Pope has 'an.' The Cambridge editors read 'an't.'

P. 96, l. 12: Rowe's reading is 'any's.'

P. 103, l. 66: '*bu'y:* b'wi—Capell.' Capell reads 'be wi'.' Dyce reads 'b' wi'.' The same wrong ascription to Capell appears in the Cambridge text.

P. 116: '*Heretere:* Héritier—Hudson.' But Knight had suggested this before Hudson.

The Introductions to the Plays do not err by being severely learned. We are told that '"Henry the Fifth" is a chronological continuation of "Henry the Fourth." The Second Part of the latter places Henry V upon the throne, while the present play narrates his warlike deeds. The broad comedy of "Henry the Fourth" is almost entirely omitted. Falstaffe's death is related, and his companions have sorry parts. This play is a romantic historical drama.' All this is at once very correct and very simple; so simple, that editors of school-texts may blush for their unsuspected erudition. In the section on the 'Duration of the Action' we find that 'Shakespeare has here more openly violated the old-school notions of unity of time and place than in any other play.... "Henry V" was written in an earlier period when the classic unities were still greatly in vogue, and it is so constant a disregard of those principles as to proclaim his utter divorce from them. He seems to argue that, if the stirring scenes he is striving to depict could only be put in narrators' mouths, according to the Greek school, there would be small need of the imagination, whereas the imagination was clearly needed to reinforce the scenic poverty of the Elizabethan stage...Since the idea of the romantic school, therefore, was different from the classic, and the spectator's imagination one of the fixed assets of the play, there was no necessity for the limits of time and place; and this is the conclusion to which Shakespeare arrived more pronouncedly in "Henry V" than in any other play.' Criticism of this kind hardly requires comment.

Mr Collins's General Introduction is a handsome defence of the First Folio, and incidentally of the aesthetic value of reprints unmodernized and untinkered in punctuation and capitals. 'The power of poetry in relation to its subtlest and most delicate effects is more dependent than we suppose on the form in which that poetry is

presented to us.' This has been a nice problem since the days when Swift wrote, satirically:

> When Letters are in vulgar Shapes,
> 'Tis ten to one the Wit escapes;
> But, when in Capitals exprest,
> The dullest Reader smoaks the Jest.

The matter should be beyond debate nowadays, especially in editions addressed to scholars. Mr Collins's defence conveys the suspicion that this text is intended for some who have to be convinced of the propriety of printing:

> to dye, to sleepe
> No more; and by a sleepe, to say we end
> The Heart-ake, and the thousand Naturall shockes
> That Flesh is heyre too?

The aids offered by Miss Porter and Miss Clarke, as quoted above, would seem to show, too, that they consider that some of their readers are not in a position to appreciate a strict text.

G. Gregory Smith.

Ben Jonson's Sad Shepherd, with Waldron's Continuation. Edited by W. W. Greg. (*Materialien zur Kunde des älteren Englischen Dramas*, XI.) Louvain: Uystpruyst, 1905. xxv + 99 pp.

Ben Jonson's Every Man out of his Humor. Reprinted from Holme's Quarto of 1600 by W. Bang and W. W. Greg. (Same Series, XVI.) 1907. viii + 128 pp.

Ben Jonson's Every Man out of his Humor. Reprinted from Linge's Quarto by W. Bang and W. W. Greg. (Same Series, XVII.) 1907. vii + 128 pp.

Professor Bang and Mr Greg are unwearied in their contributions to the study of Jonson's text. Within two years they have produced, in the *Materialien*, no less than five volumes of more than ordinary interest, and they promise others. The first object of the editors is to place in the hands of students of Ben Jonson accurate copies of early or important texts; in some cases, as in those of the Holme and Linge Quartos, it is their only purpose. Occasionally, when critical opportunities arise, as they do in the *Sad Shepherd*, a reasonable amount of prefatory matter and notes is presented with the carefully prepared text.

Since Mr Greg wrote this introduction to the *Sad Shepherd*, he has restated (but not quite so fully) in his *Pastoral Poetry and Pastoral Drama* (1906) his conclusions regarding the text. The chief points in these are that the text, though obviously a fragment of the play which Jonson had planned, has not been mutilated; that the *Sad Shepherd* cannot be identical with the *May Lord* mentioned by Drummond of Hawthornden, though some passages in the one may have been taken from the other; and that, whereas the latter was probably written in

the autumn of 1613, the former must be ascribed to the late thirties, a year or two before the dramatist's death. There is, of course, not a little speculation in the argument which reaches to these conclusions, and these may be found to be wrong, if, as Mr Greg allows, 'some entirely new and unsuspected evidence' comes to light. In the meantime, Mr Greg's statement is at once the fullest and the most reasonable which has been offered on this difficult question. We are glad to see that Mr Greg does not lay much stress on the so-called evidence of the first line of the Prologue,

> He that hath feasted you these forty yeares,

though he calls it 'the only piece of direct testimony' to the date of the play. It should be unnecessary to argue against the literal interpretation of 'forty,' or to suggest that '"twenty" or "thirty" would suit the line equally well.' Here, as in so many places in sixteenth and seventeenth century literature, the word signifies nothing but a 'large number' or 'many,' and must be taken in an indefinite sense.

The continuation by Waldron (1744—1818), who was associated with Garrick and was something of a playwright, is reprinted for the first time from the edition of 1783. Waldron's work is by no means contemptible, though it lacks the Jonsonian quality, and, as Mr Greg points out, fails occasionally in details in a way which Jonson would not have done.

G. Gregory Smith.

Anthony Brewer's The Love-Sick King. Edited from the Quarto of 1655. By A. E. H. Swaen. (*Materialien zur Kunde des älteren Englischen Dramas,* xviii.) Louvain: Uystpruyst, 1907. xiv + 64 pp.

Professor Swaen of Groningen gives us not only a careful reprint of Brewer's play, but a valuable introduction to it in English (and excellent English), and notes on it. He points out that little or nothing is known of Brewer and that we have no certain knowledge of the date or place of production of the play. He makes it probable, however, that it was written early in the reign of James I, and he seems inclined to agree with Mr Fleay in thinking that it was probably produced rather at Newcastle than in London. Is it not, however, a little doubtful if Newcastle was a place of sufficient importance at that time to have a play specially written for its behoof, and, supposing this to have been the case, a little improbable that such a play should have secured such a vogue outside its place of origin as to have been printed fifty years later? Is it not likely that there was some prose romance dealing with the story of Thornton, the Newcastle Dick Whittington, and that this was the basis of Brewer's work? In this case it is not necessary to suppose that he had any special local knowledge, or that he wrote his play primarily for a Newcastle audience. The chief point on the other

side seems to me to be the manner in which the dramatist takes up the cause of Newcastle coal *versus* Croydon charcoal. This topic would be more effective in Newcastle than in London undoubtedly.

As for the evidence of date, Professor Swaen remarks, 'No undue importance should be attached to the fact that our play contains four lines of a song that also occur in *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*: such songs were common property.' The reference is to lines 539—542 (see Professor Swaen's note):

> I come not hither for to teach,
> I have no Pulpit for to preach,
> I woo'd th'adst kist me under the Breech,
> As thou art a Lady gay. (*Knight*, &c., III, 5. 89—92.)

Professor Swaen does not seem, however, to have noticed that Act II of *The Love-Sick King* opens (ll. 435–7) with another scrap of a song which occurs in the same scene of *The Knight of the Burning Pestle* (III, 5. 54—58):

> Be gone, be gone, my Juggy, my Puggy, be gone my Love, my Dear, my Money is gone, and ware I have none, but one poor Lamb-skin here.

This is an adaptation to Thornton's case of the lines given in Beaumont's play:

> Begone, begone, my juggy, my puggy,
> Begone, my love, my dear!
> The weather is warm,
> 'Twill do thee no harm:
> Thou canst not be lodged here.

It seems very improbable that Brewer in a hundred lines of his play should quote by a purely accidental coincidence two verses of songs, both of which occur in the same scene of *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*. If the coincidence, however, is more than accidental, it is clear that Brewer is the borrower, and if *The Knight of the Burning Pestle* was not written till 1607 (Mr Macaulay's date) or 1610–11 (Professor Moorman's in the *Temple Dramatists*' edition), the date of composition of *The Love-Sick King* must be put a little later than Professor Swaen admits.

The notes are partly elucidatory, partly typographical. It would have been more convenient perhaps if the two classes had been kept distinct. One might too have been glad of a few more notes of the former class. For example, there is no note on 'puggy' in the lines quoted above. But compare Marston, Second Part of *Antonio and Mellida*, III, 2. 5: 'The first [husband] I called sweet duck: the second, dear heart: the third, pretty pug.'

There is no note on l. 303:

> (It needs no Epithite t' express the Name)
> For Cartesmunda is the worlds bright frame.

It might have been worth while to suggest that 'Cartesmunda' seems here to be associated with 'carta mundi.'

l. 1365: 'your late dead husband has left you rich, and full Executrix to be over-seen by Mr Thornton.' A note seems to be required here, pointing out the sixteenth century custom by which a testator appointed not only an executor or executors but 'overseers' of his will. Thus Richard Forsett of Gray's Inn in his will made 15th July, 1561, and proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury on 17th October, 1561, constituted Sir William Cecil, Kt, Gilbert Gerard, Esq., and Sir W. Garratt, Kt., 'overseers' of his will.

l. 1566: '*Mauburn* hills.' I suppose, 'Malvern hills,' but there is no note.

l. 1895: 'we get (=gain) by losing it.' l. 1958: 'have the upper shoulder of' (='have the advantage of'). These phrases seem worth notice.

A word may be said on some of the notes which Professor Swaen has given.

l. 1577: 'as for my seven hundred followers they are honest Tartarians, and whosoever deals with 'em shall find them grim fellows I assure you. *Thor.* Grim, thou wert always honest.'

Professor Swaen says with regard to 'Tartarians': 'Two words are here mixed up by Grim: (1) *Tartarean* pertaining to Tartarus; (2) *Tartarean* pertaining to Tartary.' He does not notice, however, the further point that, as Prof. Moorman remarks on *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*, III, 8. 122, 'Tartarian' was a cant name for thief. (On *Merry Devil of Edmonton*, I, 1. 10, Mr Hugh Walker interprets the word as 'a stroller or gipsy' with a reference to *Merry Wives*, IV, 5. 18, 'A Bohemian-Tartar.') There is probably therefore some point in the addition '*honest* Tartarians.'

l. 1680: 'Phlegitan Acaron and Barrathrum.' On the first two words Professor Swaen remarks, 'Grim means Pyriphlegeton, Acheron.' It is not obvious, however, that Grim should mean 'Pyriphlegeton' rather than 'Phlegethon.' 'Barrathrum' ('barathrum,' the abyss, hell) is left unexplained.

l. 1934: 'and for your former Government of Poretereans we here establish it a Majoralty.' The note runs: '*Poretereans* = proletarians; no doubt a printer's error.' I do not feel convinced of the correctness of the emendation. In the first place 'Proletarians' would not scan in the verse (for the line *is* a verse, 'Government' being practically disyllabic as four lines lower 'with choice of Sheriffs to assist thy Government'). In the second place 'a Government of Proletarians' would be a rather strange phenomenon. I suggest, though doubtfully, 'and for your former Government of *Praetorians*.'

l. 1950: 'to provide Coals, Surreverence, for your Highness own tooth.' The note on 'Surreverence' says nothing of the not uncommon use of 'sir reverence' = 'saving your reverence,' in apology for words used afterwards. Cp. *New Custom* (Hazlitt-Dodsley, III, p. 9): 'It would almost for anger (sir reverence!) make a man to piss.' In the present passage the phrase is an apology for the rather familiar reference to 'your Highness own tooth.'

The play as printed in 1655 has the peculiarity that almost all the blank-verse appears as prose, while rimed lines are generally printed as verse. Professor Swaen says that 'the book of Dr van Dam and Dr Stoffel will frequently enable the student' to see how the blank-verse lines ought to be read. Possibly König's book *Der Vers in Shakespeares Dramen*, would be still more helpful: at any rate, I do not agree with some of the suggestions which are given by Professor Swaen.

Brewer, as I read him, frequently interposes an incomplete line in his blank verse. Thus I read the passage, l. 1752, *et seq.*:

> Let's arm ourselves for shame.
> *Can.* Traytor thou hast deserved death ere thou dyest;
> And this thy proud presume shall break thy neck,
> For chafing our high blood
> O love thou art unjust, I feel assaults
> Far sharper in my breast
> Then all the English Forces 'gainst this wall, &c.

Professor Swaen scans ll. 1752–4 as follows:

> Let's arm | ourselves | for shame | Tray'th hast | deserved
> Death ere | thou dyest | and this | thy proud | presume |

Again on l. 1801: 'that broken with my wish is faln upon me.' Professor Swaen writes: 'In order to scan the line, we must substitute "on" or "pon" for "upon."' But it is a feature of Brewer's verse that he has a large percentage of feminine endings.

I hope that the criticisms I have ventured to make will not be taken as any sign of ingratitude to Professor Swaen for the really valuable gift which he has made to students in this edition of Brewer's play.

G. C. Moore Smith.

John Fletcher. A Study in Dramatic Method. By O. L. Hatcher. (University of Chicago: Department of English.) Chicago: Scott, Foresman & Co. 1905. 8vo. 114 pp.

Mr Hatcher's study of what may be termed Fletcher's dramatic personality is clearly suggested by the brilliant essay in which Mr G. C. Macaulay defined the literary individuality of Fletcher's greater collaborator. Since, however, the present dissertation leaves on one side the still-vexed question of the division of work, and is, moreover, wanting in the power of acute literary perception which lent fascination to its predecessor, it cannot pretend to any very general interest. This by no means implies that it is not within its limits an honest and competent and therefore useful piece of work. The author takes a number of plays of undisputed Fletcherian authorship and attempts from a careful consideration of them to form some general idea of the dramatist's methods of work and powers of artistic construction. The

discussion is not the less valuable for the results being very much what one would have expected. That Fletcher was a writer of considerable poetic gifts, vivid idiomatic language, and almost boundless dramatic resource and ingenuity, who frequently produced hasty, extravagant and unsatisfying literary work, but seldom or never work tame or ineffective on the stage, who, knowing almost too well the qualities which an audience demanded and the faults which would escape its notice in the hurry of stage-presentation, often deliberately sacrificed the fundamental and architectonic qualities of probability and construction to the demands of striking but momentary effects—this has for some time been the general view and is very much that at which Mr Hatcher has arrived. In summing up he states his deliberate opinion that Fletcher 'knew far more of what was high and true in his art than he chose to follow'—a severe but by no means undeserved or negligible indictment. Nevertheless Fletcher remains by the side of Beaumont a no less distinct if inferior literary personality, as fascinating if less pleasing. On the subject of constructional technique we have seldom met with anything of substantive merit, and the pages devoted to the subject by Mr Hatcher form no exception. Until our knowledge of dramatic art in general, historically considered, has become far more systematized than it is at present, all particular studies must necessarily remain more or less perfunctory and practically useless. The volume appears free from serious errors if we except the preposterous statement that the *Faithful Shepherdess* is 'founded largely' on Guarini's *Pastor fido*. The press-work, however, is disgraceful, which is a pity in a book bearing apparently the official imprimatur of a great university.

W. W. Greg.

Die altenglische Odoaker-Dichtung. Von Rudolf Imelmann. Berlin: Julius Springer. 1907. 8vo. 48 pp.

Students of Old English poetry will no doubt guess from the title of this pamphlet that it is concerned with the so-called 'First Riddle' of the Exeter Book, and that the author accepts the conclusion, first propounded by me in 1888, that the piece is not a riddle at all but a monodramatic lyric. Dr Imelmann does in fact agree with me to this extent, and his conception of the situation represented has a good deal in common with mine. The following points, we both consider, are clearly established. The speaker bewails the absence of her beloved, whom she calls Wulf. She is on an island, in the power of a man whom she hates, and who has forced her to live with him as his wife; Wulf is on another island, and in mortal danger. She is the mother of a child. Her concluding words, addressed to one whose name is Eadwacer, are to the effect that her association with her hated tyrant can easily be severed, for it never was a true union.

The main question at issue between Dr Imelmann and myself is who the Eadwacer is who is apostrophised in the concluding lines. In

my opinion he is the woman's abhorred master. According to Dr Imelmann Eadwacer and Wulf are the same person. This conclusion appears to me to stand in such violent contradiction to any natural interpretation of the poem, that I do not think it could be arrived at by any scholar merely by way of inference from the text. Dr Imelmann has adopted it because he has persuaded himself that this lyric (which I will call *Wulf and Eadwacer*) is part of a trilogy of which the *Wife's Complaint* and the *Husband's Message* are the other members, and that the name of Eadwacer is contained in the runes near the end of the last-mentioned poem.

Before examining the evidence alleged in support of these speculations, I must say a few words respecting some of Dr Imelmann's contributions to the textual criticism and detailed exegesis of *Wulf and Eadwacer*.

The only textual emendations that seem to me to be required are Holthausen's *earmne* in line 16, which Dr Imelmann rejects, and Herzfeld's *gæd* in line 19, and perhaps Hicketier's *hogode* in line 9, which he accepts. His own proposed changes of *þrēat* into *þrēate* (lines 2 and 7), *ungelīc(e)* into *ungelimp* (lines 3 and 8), and *þēr* into *hēr* (line 6), are, I think, decidedly for the worse. His exegetical novelties seem equally open to objection. He assigns to *swylce* (line 1) the unauthorized sense 'even though,' which he finds also in *Wife's Complaint*, 43; he gives to *bōgum bilegde* (line 11) a repulsive and ludicrous interpretation, which even on linguistic grounds is inadmissible; he takes *murnende mōd* (line 15) as an accusative[1], to the detriment of the poetic effect; and he maintains that in line 17 *wulf* is a common noun, although in the other passages he admits it to be a proper name. Perversities of this kind are not, I think, likely to prepossess scholars in favour of the system of interpretation which requires them.

And now for the theory of the trilogy. It may be admitted that there is some affinity of subject between *Wulf and Eadwacer* and the *Wife's Complaint*. In both poems a woman bewails the absence of her beloved one. Dr Imelmann reads into the text a good deal that is not there; but even on his own showing there is not enough definite likeness to create even a faint presumption of the identity of the speaker in the two poems. With the *Husband's Message* the case is still worse. Here a man who has achieved wealth and lordship in a distant land sends to his wife a messenger (bearing a runic staff to authenticate his message), by whose mouth he assures her of his continued fidelity, and implores her to make him happy by coming to share his prosperity. There is nothing to make it likely that the sender of the message is the Wulf of the lyric. He may very well be the husband of the lady in the *Wife's Complaint*; but that is quite another matter.

But then Dr Imelmann assures us that the runes in the concluding passage of the poem spell the name of Eadwacer. If this be indeed so, we must revise our judgment, and accept the author's entire theory.

[1] In a footnote he remarks that *murnende* need not be changed into *murnendne*, because it is used predicatively. But *mōd* is neuter!

with all the difficulties with which it abounds. We are therefore bound to consider seriously how this matter really stands.

In the edition of Prof. Wülker the passage reads as follows:

> Gecyre ic ætsomne S. R. geador
> EA. W. and M (? D) aþe benemnan,
> þæt he þa wære and þa winetreowe
> be him lifgendum læstan wolde,
> þe git on ærdagum oft gespræcon.

Now obviously the name of Eadwacer is not to be found in the runes as they stand. But Dr Imelmann is a man of resource. Although he admits that according to rule the name of the first of the runes ought to alliterate with (*æt*)*somne* (which would prove the genuineness of the S), he urges that as irregularities occur in the other poems of the trilogy, the poet *may* have allowed himself the liberty of making (*ge*)*cyre* the alliterating word. On the ground of this bare possibility, he considers himself entitled to change the S into C. 'Die beiden Runenzeichen,' he says, 'sehen sich zum Verwechseln ähnlich.' Well, their respective forms are ᛋ and ᚳ. If this is Dr Imelmann's notion of a near resemblance, there is no wonder that he so often finds striking similarities which others are unable to perceive. But even with this manipulation the runes do not yet yield the desired name. It is still necessary to assume that the rune EA does duty three times over: first with its proper value, and then as representing the two letters E and A. It is worthy of note that on the page preceding that on which this curious jugglery appears Dr Imelmann blames former interpreters for forgetting 'dass der angelsächsische Leser doch nicht das Gefühl haben sollte, vor einer crux interpretum zu stehen, sondern ohne langes Besinnen richtig raten sollte.' I think the unfortunate lady might well have been excused if she declined to recognize in C. R. EA. W. D. any reasonable spelling of Eadwacer.

But there is yet more to be said. It is doubtful whether the word *gecyre*, on the genuineness of which the whole case is rested, is really the reading of the MS. Prof. Wülker thinks it is; but the fact that Prof. Schipper believed that what he saw was *genyre* is at least a strong ground for hesitation. Further, the word *gecyre* is unsatisfactory not only in form (as Dr Imelmann admits) but also in sense. The author renders *gecyre ic* by 'ich kehre, *richte, füge*.' But the last two words, which are indispensable, are not justified by anything that is known of the meaning of the verb *gecierran*; and even if we waive this difficulty, the syntax of the infinitive *benemnan* remains anomalous.

It is thus evident that the runes do not spell the name Eadwacer. But what then do they spell? I am inclined to think that Hicketier (*Anglia*, XI, 366) has hit the mark with one of his many alternative suggestions. It is possible that the rune *Sigel* may have been used to stand for *sige*; indeed that word may even have been another name for the letter. On this assumption we obtain, without any manipulation whatever, the name *Sigeweard*; the runes are even in the right order,

except for the transposition of R and W, which might be due to the scribe. For the unintelligible *gecyre* or *genyre* of the MS., Prof. Trautmann has proposed *gehyre*; I should prefer *gehyrde*, to accord with the tense of *wolde* in a following line. The translation then will be: 'I heard Sigeweard swear that as long as he lived he would keep the faith which in days of yore you and he often vowed to each other.' Surely this is exactly what the messenger would naturally be expected to have said.

On my view of the interpretation of *Wulf and Eadwacer*, it is natural to surmise that the Eadwacer therein mentioned is no other than that Odovacar whose hostility to Theodoric has caused him to figure as one of the villains of Germanic legend. I entertained this notion as early as 1888, though I then refrained from publishing it; since then my estimate of its probability has been rather strengthened than otherwise, though I do not claim for it any approach to certainty. Of course this identification would on Dr Imelmann's theory be quite inadmissible; but he has been fortunate enough to discover a historic original for his Eadwacer-Wulf. There was, it seems, a Saxon chief named Eadwacer (Adovacrius in Gregory of Tours) who in A.D. 463 invaded north-western Gaul, for a time with success, but was defeated by Childeric, and afterwards entered into an alliance with his conqueror. Nothing more is known of this Eadwacer; but Dr Imelmann is confident that his deeds must have been extensively celebrated in heroic poetry, and that a portion of this has survived in the three poems which are now for the first time correctly understood. He says, indeed, that the proof falls short of absolute demonstration. It really does.

Dr Imelmann confesses that only half a year ago he gave, 'ebenso überzeugt wie falsch,' an explanation of the *Wife's Complaint* and the *Husband's Message* quite different from that which he now propounds. This engaging candour encourages the hope that before long he will acknowledge with equal frankness that for the second time he has been very sure and very wrong.

HENRY BRADLEY.

Die Geister in der englischen Literatur des 18. *Jahrhunderts. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Romantik.* Von C. THÜRNAU. (*Palaestra*, LV.) Berlin: Mayer und Müller. 1906. 8vo. viii + 150 pp.

This contribution to *Palaestra* is the first book to consider the appearance of ghosts in the literature of the 18th century, and is a notable addition to what has already been said on the subject by W. L. Phelps in *The Beginning of the English Romantic Movement*, and by H. A. Beers in *A History of English Romanticism in the 18th Century*. Thürnau can hardly claim, however, to have said the last word of importance in connection with the subject since, beyond giving an account of the contents bearing on the presence of ghosts in certain works, he has devoted but small space to showing the different

authors' procedure and purpose in introducing them and the sources from whence the ghost-lore was derived. He has, moreover, confined himself strictly to ghosts and has nothing to add about elves, fairies, angels, devils and the like, although a really exhaustive enquiry would necessitate their being considered as well. There is also very little about the causes which led up to the advent of the ghost in the English 'Schauerroman.' All the instances of ghosts mentioned as occurring in the tales of Smollett, Fielding and other writers have nothing in common with those of Horace Walpole or M. G. Lewis. The former employ ghosts, which in all cases turn out to be frauds, to poke fun at everything and anybody, whereas the latter use them to inspire fear and try to make their readers believe in their reality. *The Castle of Otranto* or *The Monk*—which belong to a class of novels shrouded in mystery, the villain of which is generally a morbid debauchee, a lascivious priest, a hobgoblin, or, as is actually the case in many, including some of Maturin's, the devil himself—are as destitute of all comic spirit and as devoid of all common-sense and genuine feeling as a *Roderick Random* or a *Tom Jones* is the reverse. The 'tales of horror,' with their ghosts and supernatural apparatus, have certainly nothing to do with the novels of any of the English humorists but are the product of the reaction which set in after the 'Aufklärungszeit" and owe, in many cases, their inception to German influence.

A. B. Young.

Edward Young in Germany. Historical Surveys, Influence upon German Literature, Bibliography. By John Louis Kind. (*Columbia University Germanic Studies,* Vol. II, No. III.) New York, 1906. 8vo. xiv + 186 pp.

This study of the interest taken in Young's works in Germany, and of their influence upon German literature, is written largely on the lines suggested by M. Spiridion Wukadinović in his review of Barnstorff's unfinished work *Young's Nachtgedanken und ihr Einfluss auf die deutsche Literatur,* Bamberg, 1895 (cf. *Euphorion* v, p. 137 ff.). The reviewer pointed out that the one-sided process of treating the *Night Thoughts* only, gave a very inadequate idea of Young's influence on German thought. The *Night Thoughts,* although they developed German poetry in one particular direction, did not advance it in any way, whereas Young's work *On Original Composition* conquered new provinces for German literature, and only a survey which did justice to both sides of Young's activity could give a true picture of his influence in Germany. Mr Kind devotes the first two chapters of his book (58 pages) to the *Conjectures on Original Composition,* the third chapter (60 pages) to the *Night Thoughts* in Germany, chapter IV (13 pages) to Young's minor works, and chapter V to a bibliography of German translations, editions, reviews, etc., of Young's works.

The most interesting, because the newest, part of the book is the

section devoted to the *Conjectures*. After a short survey of German thought on original composition prior to 1760, and a discussion of the translations of 1760 and 1787, the author proceeds to a careful examination of the influence of Young's work on the *Literaturbriefe* (1759–1765), the *Schleswigsche Literaturbriefe* (1766), the *Hamburgische Dramaturgie* (1767–1768), and then, passing from works to authors, on Hamann and Herder.

Mr Kind shews how all Hamann's maxims and ideas as to original genius, the different kinds of imitation and the proper attitude towards the ancients are really only echoes of the *Conjectures*, and that Hamann owes the greater part of his material to Young. Possibly, however, he ascribes a little too much weight to Young's influence on the German writer. The ideas which Hamann expresses were so prevalent at that time that any author well versed in contemporary literature could hardly fail to be imbued with them. For instance, it is surely not 'strange' (see p. 37) that the maxim 'know thyself' should be found in Hamann as well as in Young. We should almost think it strange *not* to find it in a German writer of the middle of the 18th century. Young's enormous influence on Herder, on the other hand, is beyond question, and Mr Kind devotes a very interesting section to a discussion of Young's precepts in the form in which Herder clothed them—a form which often suspiciously resembles that of the original. But Herder performed a useful work. He applied Young's rules to German literary conditions, and thus became the promoter and inspired prophet of a national literature. This is clearly shewn in the chapter devoted to Herder, and this portion of the book closes at the point where the fruits of Young's sowing and Herder's transplanting were about to be seen in the productions of the *Sturm und Drang* period.

Chapter III begins with a survey of the history of the *Night Thoughts* in Germany in the second half of the 18th century. It shews how the popularity of the poem increased steadily during the first three decades until, between 1760 and 1770, there was hardly a periodical which did not contain some mention of it. A reaction became inevitable. Dissentient voices had already been heard, and other influences were beginning to work which helped to displace Young. Mr Kind points out, as Wukadinović had done, that the growing appreciation of Ossian was an important factor in the decay of Young's popularity. The decay was as rapid as the growth. Even Young's admirers themselves grew cool, and we find Herder, who had been one of the warmest, wondering at the end of the century 'dass man Young je für einen tiefsinnigen Dichter gehalten hat.'

The second part of this chapter treats of the influence of the *Night Thoughts* on German writers. Mr Kind does not go deeply into the question of verbal correspondence because, as he says in his preface, 'it was found, after thorough investigation, that Barnstorff's dissertation had virtually exhausted the subject of verbal correspondences in the influence of the *Night Thoughts* upon German writers.' He has, however, supplied certain omissions of Barnstorff's already noted by

Wukadinović. We no longer miss the poets of the *Hainbund*; the influence on Goethe and on Schiller's early poems is considered; Michaelis, Jacobi, Möser and other leaders of the reaction against the wave of 'Youngisieren' are also discussed. But in spite of the thoroughness of his investigations, Mr Kind seems to have taken a little too much on trust. In speaking of Zachariä, for instance, he says: 'We have the word of his friend Ebert that the most remarkable correspondence in Zachariä's poems, in which he expresses almost verbatim the opening of the *Night Thoughts*, is a mere coincidence. But there are other passages in his poems, written after his acquaintance with the *Complaint*, that are modelled after Young. The poems *Die Erscheinungen* and *Die Nacht* show this influence especially.' Mr Kind seems not to be aware that this latter poem is the very one which contains those lines so closely resembling the opening lines of Young's poem, but for which we have Ebert's word that they were written *before* Zachariä's acquaintance with the works of Young (cf. Ebert, *Klagen oder Nachtgedanken* etc. Aus dem Englischen übersetzt. Braunschweig, 1768, I, p. 9). Mr Kind proceeds: 'and even *Die Tageszeiten*, an imitation of Thomson's *Seasons*, mentions Young. But the poem *Die Nacht* shows the greatest influence of the *Night Thoughts*, and not only mentions Young and Ebert in glowing tributes, but borrows Young's pictures in describing the night, and makes free use of passages in the *Night Thoughts*.' (See p. 85.) This is misleading. The enthusiastic eulogy of Young and the borrowed pictures of night are contained, not in the short poem, *Die Nacht*, but in the fourth part of the *Tageszeiten*, entitled 'Nacht,' and it is difficult to understand how this confusion between two absolutely different poems could have arisen had Mr Kind been familiar with Zachariä's works at first hand. It would have been interesting, too, to notice how Zachariä also was affected by the general reaction against Young; thus we find him in a later poem admonishing his friend Ebert:

> O E....., hülle dich nicht in Melancholey!
> Verlass die Grotte, die du bewohnst,
> Und sitze nicht immer allein beym klagenden Young,
> In schwarze Nachtgedanken verwölkt.
> (*Oden und Lieder*, IV, p. 427.)

The ample bibliography at the end of the book will be useful to all students of this period, but here again a certain lack of due investigation is noticeable. On page 152 there is mention of a book published in 1765: '*Der Freymüthige, oder Der Englische Greis*, von Young. Hamburg, 1765–1767,' which Mr Kind describes as 'an adaptation of the *Night Thoughts* in six parts.' Even a hasty glance into the contents of this curious book would have shewn that it is no adaptation of the *Night Thoughts*, and that the name Young was merely affixed in order to enhance its popularity. *Der Freymüthige* is simply an imitation of the 'moralische Wochenschriften,' which treats of learning, beauty, the education of children, etc., and the author so far forgets that he has assumed an English name as to introduce in Part IV ('Über Erziehung')

an interesting description of a 'Renommist.' It should also be noted that Berge's translation of *Paradise Lost* appeared in 1682, not in 1762, as stated in the note on page 60.

JESSIE CROSLAND.

Die literarischen Vorlagen der Kinder- und Hausmarchen und ihre Bearbeitung durch die Brüder Grimm. Von HERMANN HAMANN. (*Palaestra,* XLVII.) Berlin: Mayer und Müller. 1906. 8vo. 147 pp.

The first part of the present work appeared as a Berlin dissertation in 1905, and for it the author was awarded the Grimm prize. In the Introduction, which occupies eighteen pages, Dr Hamann gives an account of the genesis of the fairy-tale and its general literary history. He discusses carefully the influence of France, particularly of the *Contes de ma mère l'Oye* by Perrault. He then deals with other German writers of fairy-tales, such as Musäus and Tieck, and points out how little the true nature of the *Volksmärchen* is understood by them. Of Musäus he says: 'Seine Erzählungen sind in einem ironisch-witzelnden Stil gehalten und mit persönlichen Anspielungen auf Zeit und Zeitgenossen durchsetzt....Das volkstümliche Element, der schlichte, einfache Ton der Darstellung ist bei ihm mehr ein äusserer Schmuck der künstlichen und oft verwickelten Novellen als ein Grundcharakter.' The predilection of the Romantic School for the *Märchen* is then characterised. The loose phantastic connection of events, and the part played by supernatural powers were well suited to their requirements. As Novalis says, 'Das Märchen ist gleichsam der Canon der Poesie, alles Poetische muss märchenhaft sein; der Dichter betet den Zufall an.' Considering the entirely new style of Grimm's *Märchen,* it is hardly surprising to find that they met with a great deal of adverse criticism at the time of their first appearance. Brentano found them tedious in spite of their brevity. Heinrich Voss, writing to a friend, said: 'Die meisten sind wahrer Schund oder wenn auch im Keim gesund, doch in der Form durchaus verwahrlost.' Notwithstanding all this, the brothers were themselves conscious of the real value of the collection, and convinced that no other book of the kind could be compared with theirs.

The second part of Dr Hamann's treatise is taken up with a comparison of the tales with their sources, and in the last part the author discusses the fairy-tale in general with special reference to Grimm's—its peculiar style, its artistic form and its characteristics. The method which the Grimms pursued is thus excellently summed up: 'Sie hielten an der Originalität und Schönheit der lebendigen Volkssprache fest: sie wollten nicht selbst poetisieren, sondern Volksdichtung wiedererzählen und nicht über das Volk, sondern mit dem Volk lachen und scherzen.' Dr Hamann's work is a most important contribution to the literature of the *Volksmärchen,* and is worthy of the most careful study, not merely by students of literature, but also by those whose chief interest lies in Folklore.

T. REA.

Giovanna d' Aragona, Duchessa d' Amalfi. Spigolature storiche e letterarie (a proposito d' una novella di Matteo Bandello). Da Domenico Morellini. Cesena: G. Vignuzzi e C., 1906. 8vo. 93 pp.

If it cannot be said that Sig. Morellini's modest brochure is of first rate importance to students of the Jacobean drama, it may yet be recommended as a work of very considerable interest. The source of the *Duchess of Malfi* has always been familiar in Bandello's novel, and this is perhaps all the students of the drama care to know, but Webster's editors have nevertheless repeatedly puzzled themselves as to the historical facts underlying the story, and Sig. Morellini has made, so far as we are aware, the first serious attempt to determine what these may have been. Bandello gives ample details for the identification of the Duchess, but so small has been the general knowledge of her history that it has even been suggested (by the present writer) that there might have been some confusion between Amalfi and Melfi. Anyone who has investigated the question knows the exasperating habit of the Amalfian chroniclers in the early sixteenth century, after for many years faithfully reproducing all insignificant local gossip, of suddenly launching out into the *haute politique* of the French invasion and so cheating one of just those records which they were in the best position to preserve. That Bandello's account, however, is based neither on confusion nor imagination appears from two allusions which have survived. One, dated Aug. 14, 1509, by an anonymous chronicler of Amalfi, records the meeting of the Aragonian brothers with the Duchess, which forms the opening scene of Webster's play; the other, mentioning her flight from Loreto in company with Antonio Bologna, occurs under the date Nov. 17, 1510, in the diary of Giacomo the Notary which was printed in 1845. So much was known from Matteo Camera's *Memorie storico-diplomatiche dell' antica città e ducato di Amalfi*, the second volume of which was published at Salerno in 1881, and we are bound to add that Sig. Morellini's quotations are by no means as accurate as we could wish. This somewhat impairs our confidence in those portions of his work which are based upon books and documents which we have been unable to consult, but we have no reason to suppose that his general conclusions are invalidated. Finding Bandello's narrative thus substantiated we naturally begin to inquire how far we may reasonably accept his testimony as to the general outline of events at least. There seems to be good reason to suppose that he based his account upon the testimony of the actors themselves and that he even appears in his own narrative in the character of Delio. His novel thus acquires serious historical value. It is his own version of the story, unfortunately, which appears to underlie the *chroniques scandaleuses* of the Corona manuscripts, but it is in the main confirmed by a Neapolitan tradition, preserved in Filonico's manuscript *Lives* (extant in the Nazionale at Naples), which must presumably be independent since it represents Giovanna's death as due to poison.

Sig. Morellini's pamphlet also contains an account of the well-known plays by Lope de Vega and John Webster, which is welcome considering the very general unfamiliarity with English among Italian scholars. There are, it is true, a rather unreasonable number of misprints in English names and quotations, nor has the author in every case fully grasped Webster's meaning. Thus he paraphrases 'Let us not venture all this poor remainder In one unlucky bottom,' by 'Non vogliate permettere che noi tutti, infelici, periamo travolti dal tragico fato'; whereas the evident sense is: 'Non avventuriamo quel poco che ci resta in un solo fatale legno.' But Sig. Morellini's aim has rather been to introduce Webster's play to his countrymen than to offer either detailed criticism, or adequate versions of his own; and we can only join with him in hoping that this portion of his work may achieve its object by being quickly superseded. The historical side of his labours deserves the welcome of all students interested in literary origins.

W. W. Greg.

MINOR NOTICES.

Nearly ten years have elapsed since Miss Eleanor Hull set about the task of interpreting Ireland's past to the English public. In that time she has given us a volume on the Cuchullin saga and two admirable little books on early Irish history. Her latest work, *A Textbook of Irish Literature*, Part I (Dublin, M. H. Gill and Son: London, D. Nutt, 1906), is the first instalment of a history of Irish literature intended 'to meet the requirements of the students under the Intermediate Board.' More than half the book is, of course, taken up with a description of the contents of the older mythological tales and heroic sagas. Then follow various chapters dealing with the earliest literature connected with the church and the work of the official poets and bards. Miss Hull knows her sources very thoroughly and is quite at home with her subject. She has a keen eye for the dramatic element in the ancient tales, but at the same time she does not attempt to conceal their weaknesses. We heartily recommend this volume to any reader who wishes to gain some idea of the contents of early Irish manuscripts, and he may rest assured that he will not be offended by any of those extravagances which we are unfortunately accustomed to expect from Irish writers when dealing with anything that concerns their own country.

E. C. Q.

The results of Dr Carl Herbst's Dissertation on *Cupid's Revenge by Beaumont and Fletcher und Andromana, or the Merchant's Wife in ihrer Beziehung zu einander und zu ihrer Quelle* (Königsberg, Hartungsche Buchdruckerei, 1906), are slender. After a few general remarks con-

cerning the dependence of dramatic on what he calls epical composition, that is, narrative whether verse or prose, he proceeds to give abstracts of the Plangus and Erona stories from Sidney's *Arcadia*, and of the plays of *Cupid's Revenge* and *Andromana* founded upon them, which together occupy 40 pages of his 76. He then briefly discusses a few of the points which a comparison of the foregoing material suggests. The only point which appears to us of interest is the apparently successful attempt to show that the author of *Andromana* was familiar with and deliberately made use of Beaumont and Fletcher's play as well as of its source. A few rather perfunctory remarks are offered concerning the authorship of *Andromana*, in which the writer takes the Shirleian hypothesis far too seriously. The initials 'J. S.' were not uncommon among writers of this time, while they may equally well be due to a bookseller's fraud. There is nothing whatever to make us suppose Chetwood's statement—that a prologue written for a revival in 1671 attributed the piece to Shirley—contains more truth than other pronouncements of the same authority.

W. W. G.

Les trois ouvrages de l'infatigable professeur de l'Université de Dijon, M. Émile Roy—*Études sur le théâtre français du XIV^e^ et du XV^e^ siècle. La comédie sans titre et les miracles de Notre-Dame par personnages* (Paris, Bouillon, 1902); *Études sur le théâtre français du XIV^e^ siècle. Le Jour du Jugement, mystère français sur le grand schisme* (Paris, Bouillon, 1902), et *Le mystère de la Passion en France du XIV^e^ au XVI^e^ siècle* (Dijon, L. Barbier-Marilier, 1903)—ont déjà été l'objet de comptes-rendus considérables[1]. Dans le premier l'auteur examine la *Comoedia sine nomine* (p. i—cxix) dont il publie le texte pour la première fois d'après le manuscrit latin 8163 de la Bibliothèque nationale (p.3—192), et l'origine ainsi que l'historique des Miracles de Notre-Dame et des mystères de Sainte Geneviève. Dans le deuxième M. Roy publie le mystère intitulé *Le jour dou jugement* (p. 212—252), dont il étudie les sources, la composition, la date (qu'il croit pouvoir fixer au 5 avril 1398 en se fondant sur des allusions au grand schisme), la langue, qui est celle du Nord-Est de la France. Il examine enfin différentes 'pièces françaises et étrangères dont la réunion et la collation étaient indispensables pour discerner par comparaison les traits caractéristiques de ce mystère.' Enfin dans le troisième de beaucoup le plus important, M. Roy passe en revue successivement *La Passion d'Autun, La Passion bourguignonne de Semur, La Passion d'Auvergne, La Passion secundum legem debet mori.* Il en recherche les sources et en établit le classement, en donnant, chemin faisant, de nombreux textes inédits, dont les plus intéressants sont ceux de la légende des charbons ardents (p. 19*), la *Passion nostre Seigneur Jhesu Christ* (p. 121*—189), des extraits de la *Vie de Jesu Crist* de 1485 (p. 346—355), des extraits de la *Passion d'Auvergne* (p. 369—376). La

[1] Parmi les comptes-rendus je renverrai à ceux de la *Romania* (xxxi, p. 647, xxxii, p. 635, xxxv, p. 365—378) et du *Journal des Savants* (déc. 1903 et sept. 1906).

Passio secundum legem est réimprimée d'après l'incunable de Denis Roce, sans date. Ces trois ouvrages ont renouvelé l'histoire du développement de notre théâtre de XIII^e^ au XV^e^ siècle, et font honneur à l'érudition française. L'abondance des matières traitées, le nombre des textes cités nuit parfois à la clarté des idées, mais c'était là un mal nécessaire, compensé d'ailleurs par les qualités de critique et érudition deployées par l'auteur.

L. B.

La traduction en français du premier fascicule de l'*Altfranzösische Grammatik* de M. H. Suchier—*Les voyelles toniques du vieux français.* Traduction de l'allemand augmentée d'un index et d'un lexique par Ch. Guerlin de Guer (Paris, H. Champion, 1906)—sera accueillie avec reconnaissance par ceux qui ne lisent l'allemand qu'avec difficulté. L'index des textes cités (p. 166—180), et le lexique de tous les mots étudiés (p. 181—225), constituent un grand avantage pour la nouvelle publication. La division de cet ouvrage est très méthodique: l'auteur y étudie successivement les voyelles simples, les diphthongues, les monodiphthongues, les triphthongues, les voyelles devant nasales, les voyelles devant l et l'entravées.

L. B.

Following Dr G. Jenny's inadequate discussion of *Miltons Verlornes Paradies in der deutschen Literatur des* 18. *Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig Dissertation, 1890) and Dr J. M. Telleen's Paris thesis, *Milton dans la littérature française* (1904), Sig. Ettore Allodoli gives us in his *Giovanni Milton e l'Italia* (Prato: Tipografia Succ. Vestri, 1907) an excellent and attractively written account of the spread of Milton's fame and influence in Italy. Sig. Allodoli has set himself, however, a more ambitious task than the authors of the French and German books just mentioned; he devotes a large part of his study to the influence of Italy on Milton: Milton's Italian journey, his Italian sources and the Italian elements in his poetry. Milton was the first English poet to seize hold of the imagination of the continent at the beginning of the eighteenth century, and the chapters in this volume dealing with 'Milton nella Critica italiana' and 'Le Traduzione italiane del Paradiso perduto' etc. are particularly valuable from the point of view of comparative literature. Sig. Allodoli might with advantage have subjected the Italian periodicals of the beginning of the eighteenth century to a more thorough search, especially the *Giornale de' Letterati d' Italia,* and devoted more attention to the extraordinary enthusiasm for Milton which characterised the little band of cosmopolitan Italians settled in London about that time. Among the earliest translators of Milton Sig. Allodoli does not mention Anton Maria Salvini—and Sig. Carmelo Cardaro, in his recent monograph on Salvini (1906), has little to say of that writer's interest in

Milton; but there is, we think, reason to believe that, like his friend L. Magalotti, Salvini had at least planned, if he did not actually execute, a translation of *Paradise Lost*.

J. G. R.

The new edition of Cassell's *German-English and English-German Dictionary* (London, Cassell and Co., 1906), which has been 'revised and considerably enlarged' by Dr Karl Breul, may be warmly recommended to the English student. It is not merely an excellent and reliable German Dictionary of handy size and at a reasonable price (7*s.* 6*d.*), but it has the additional advantage of having been compiled with the English user constantly in view. We are consequently not irritated by that subordination of the German-English to the English-German section, which is to be found in most of the best dictionaries of German origin. We have noted a few omissions, but these are, for the most part, of small importance. As a whole, the work is remarkably complete, accurate, and 'up-to-date.' In the matter of type and clearness of arrangement, the new edition is a marked improvement on its predecessor.

J. G. R.

NEW PUBLICATIONS.

March—May, 1907.

ROMANCE LANGUAGES.

General.

Gendarme de Bévotte, G., La Légende de don Juan, son évolution dans la littérature des origines au romantisme. Paris, Hachette. 10 fr.

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